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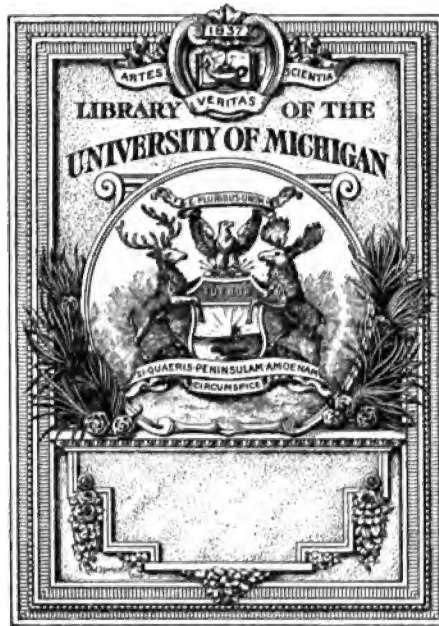
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HERMATHENA:

A SERIES OF PAPERS ON

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND PHILOSOPHY.

HERMATHENA:
A SERIES OF PAPERS ON
LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND
PHILOSOPHY,

BY

Members of Trinity College, Dublin.

VOL. X.



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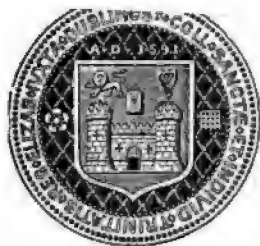
A SERIES OF PAPERS ON

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND PHILOSOPHY,

READERS of HERMATHENA, No. XXV., will kindly make
the following corrections:—

Page 413, line 7, *for* “accept” *read* “except”.

“ 422, last line but one, *for* “the epistles” *read* “the other
epistles”.



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HERMATHENA.



ON VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

MARK PATTISON, *Essays* II., p. 171, states that corrections of the text of Velleius were published by Warburton (author of the *Divine Legation*) in the "Bibliothèque Britannique," 1736. He had projected an edition, but was dissuaded by Middleton from doing more than issuing a specimen of his way of dealing with the text; and this has attracted little attention. But in a cursory examination which I gave to this somewhat scarce work (it was published at the Hague), I found that Warburton had, in some instances, offered conjectures which have since been made by others, and are now supposed to belong to them. In justice to our countryman, I consecrate the following pages to this pious task, adding a few conjectures which a fourth perusal of the much corrupted text of Velleius has suggested to me. I cannot pretend to have examined all the editions; but Halm's edition in the Teubner series, and the second edition of Kritz (1848), show at once how much has been done by the numerous critics who have dealt with Velleius since the publication of the *editio princeps* in 1520, and how much has still to be done. The treatise of Aemilius Thomas, *de Velleiani codicis condicione* (Berolini, apud K. Gaertnerum, 1893), I have used all through; but though as

a criticism of the text constituted by Halm it is valuable, not to say indispensable, many of the readings which its author proposes as substitutes seem to me to have little probability. The one MS. on which we have to base our knowledge of Velleius has, as is well known, long been lost. It is stated to have been found by Beatus Rhenanus in the monastery of Murbach, in Elsass, about 1515 (Halm, Praef.); and the Editio Princeps, issued by the press of Froben five years later, was printed from a copy of this MS. corrected by Rhenanus, which he forwarded to Basel with the MS. itself, enjoining on the correctors of the book, as it went through the press, to collate the text as it was printed with the actual MS. Many errors, however, got in; these were detected by one Albert Burer, who collated the whole printed text of the Editio Princeps with the MS. and published the true readings which he found in the latter in an Appendix to the volume.¹ In the present century Orelli discovered in the library of Basel another copy made in 1516 by Boniface Amerbach; of this I have made a new and complete collation.

In the following paper, P = Editio Princeps; A the copy made by Amerbach; M the corrections drawn from the Murbach codex which Burer added by way of Appendix to the Editio Princeps.

I. 4. 3:

*Subsequenti tempore magna uis Graecae iuuentutis abundantia
†uirium sedes quaeritans in Asiam se effudit.*

uirorum, Warburton, a conj. also made by Burmann.

I. 10. 1:

*Per idem tempus cum Antiochus Epiphanes, qui Athenis Olympicum
(a mistake for Olympieum) inchoauit †tum (A cum) regem Syriae†
Ptolemaeum puerum obsideret.*

The ordinary correction, which Halm ascribes to the Aldine edition, *tum rex Syriae*, is very violent. Warburton

¹ Namely, the Editio Princeps.

conj. *iterum rediens e Syria*, in which *rediens* seems to me very plausible. Looking at palæography, one might suspect that *tum* was a mistake for the abbreviation of *tertium*.

I. 16. 3 :

ac nouam comicam Menandrus (Menander A) aequalesque eius aetatis magis quam operis Philemon (-mo A) ac Diphilus et inuenere intra paucissimos annos neque imitanda reliquere.

For *imitanda*, which Acidalius corrected to *imitandam*, Warburton proposes *emendandam*. The former part of the sentence was altered by Madvig, Adv. Crit. ii. p. 299, into *aequales eius non aetatis magis quam operis*. Halm prints this, and Aem. Thomas seems to accept it. The reading of P and A, however, is not only intelligible, but good. Philemon and Diphilus were contemporaneous with Menander, rather than rivals in skill as writers of comedy.

I. 17. 4 :

hoc idem euenisse grammaticis plastis pictoribus scalloribusq. uisquisq. temporum institerit notis reperiet eminentia cuiusque operis artissimis temporum claustris circumdatam.

Here we have every word of the actual codex as recorded by Burer. Nor will anyone improve on his emendation, *scalltoribusque ut (?uti) quisque temporum institerit notis*.

Warburton's *geometris* for *grammaticis* is plausible; Burmann's *gromaticis*, "land-surveyors," absurd. But is not *eminentia—circumdata* preferable to *eminentiam—circumdatam* of P? The participial adj., with its superlative *eminentissimus*, is one of Velleius' favourite words. Frotscher's Index quotes no less than twenty examples from this one writer alone.

17. 5 :

Huius ergo ^{f. recentiq.} ~~recedentis inq.~~ saeculorum saeculum ingeniorum similitudines congregantesque se et in studium par et in emolumentum causas cum semper requiro.

So A. Perhaps

Huius ergo referentis (or, reficientis) inque saeculum congregantis se ingeniorum similitudinis et in studium par et in emolumentum causas cum semper (or, as Madvig, saepe) requiro.

referentis se returning, *reficientis se* reviving.

I. 18. fin. :

que urbes et initialia talium studiorum fuere steriles nisi thebas unum os Pindari inluminaret ; nam Alcmana Lacones falso sibi vindicant.

in Italia A. Burer conj. *quae urbes et multae aliae* (or *item aliae*) *studiorum f. s.*, preferring the former of his two conjectures. Halm prints *et in alia talium*, a suggestion of Sauppe's ; Madvig, *et in omnia talium*. Neither is satisfactory. Does not the meaning of the passage point to *et in imitamina* ?

II. 1. 5 :

Sed Pompeium gratia impunitum habuit, Mancinum uerecundia quippe non recusando perduxit huc ut per fecialis nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus.

I agree with Aemilius Thomas that this should be retained, as it is in P and A, merely placing *quippe non recusando* in brackets as a parenthetical clause, quite in Velleius' style. Mancinus might have protested against the ignominious surrender of his person to the Numantines. He did not do so, and his timidity brought him to the extremity of being delivered in a stript state to the enemy.

6. 2 :

Speaking of Gaius Gracchus, as following his brother Tiberius' example, Velleius says :—

longe maiora et acriora repetens dabat ciuitatem omnibus Italicis, extendebat eam paene usque Alpibus, diuidebat agros.

Wopkens was, perhaps, right in retaining *repetens* (Ruhnken emend. *petens*), and explaining "*renouans uel rursus inducens non aequae graua ac molesta tantum, sed etiam grauiora ac molestiora.*"

7. 6 :

Factum opimi quod inimicitiarum quaesita erat ultio, minor secuta auctoritas, et uisa ultio priuato odio magis quam publicae uindictae data.

For *quod* should be written *quo*, as I conjectured before seeing that Heinsius had forestalled me. The interchange of *quod* and *quo* is perpetual in MSS., and the abl. would be like others in Velleius, ii. 23. 2 *legis auctor qua creditoribus quadrantem solui iusserat.*

9. 3 :

Clara etiam per idem aevi spatium fuere ingenia in togatis Afrani, in tragoediis Pacuuii atque Acci usque (adque Acciusque A) in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem euectis, magnumque inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum, adeo quidem ut in illis limae, in hoc paene plus uideatur fuisse sanguinis, celebre et Lucili nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militauerat.

acciusque, A. euectis, M, as stated by Burer, *eius aetatis P, eius etatis, A.*

Madvig seems to be right in explaining *magnumque—locum*, not of Accius, but of Lucilius. But if this is so, it is not necessary to alter *celebre et* into *et celebre*, as if *et* coupled *magnum* and *celebre*. For *magnumque* refers to *locum*, and *et* = *etiam*.

euectis, which Burer explicitly states to have been the reading of the Murbach MS., it is usual to print *euecti*; this also is unnecessary; *euectis* refers to *togatis* and *tragoediis*, or, perhaps, to the latter alone; the word might be applied to a poem or work of art, much as it is to the munificence of Tiberius in 130, *pia munificentia superque humanam euecta fidem.*

Palæographically, how can *euectis* have been read *eius etatis*, as P and Amerbach's copy give? Perhaps *eius* was an afterthought, *euectis* being the word which was corrupted into *etatis*.

II. 1 :

C. Marius, quem prædiximus, natus equestri loco.

Voss altered *equestri* to *agresti*, and this is printed by Halm. As diction, this strikes me as odd and unusual, though it is quite true that Plutarch describes Marius as γενόμενον γονέων παντάπασιν ἀδόξων αὐτουργῶν δὲ καὶ πενήτων. Juvenal, viii. 245, says :—

Volscorum in monte solebat

Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.

Pliny, H. N. xxxiii., calls him *arator Arpinas*, and Cicero, Tusc. Q. ii. 22, *rusticanus uir*. I believe the words used mean no more than that Marius, instead of belonging to the senatorian rank, was a mere *eques* in a provincial town, a *municipalis eques*, as Juvenal calls Cicero, himself a native of Arpinum: cf. 76. 5, of Salvienus Rufus, *natus obscurissimis initiis parum habebat summa accepisse et proximus a Cn. Pompeio ipsoque Caesare equestris ordinis consul creatus esse*.

J. E. B. Mayor, on Juvenal viii. 238, cites a passage of Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 53, which seems to illustrate Velleius. Seneca there asks, *egone equestri et prouinciali loco ortus proceribus ciuitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles et longa decora praeferentes nouitas mea enituit?*

What, indeed, could *natus agresti loco* mean but “born in a country place”? But this might happen to any patrician: it is not being born in a remote part of the country that Velleius emphasizes, but the *position (loco)* of Marius' family, with no claims to nobility or exalted rank. He belonged to a mere municipium, and his family was not distinguished even there.

13. 2 :

(*M. Liuius Drusus*) *in iis ipsis quae pro senatu moliebatur senatum habuit aduersarium, non intelligentem, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo agerentur, ueluti inescandae inliciendaque multitudinis causa fieri, ut minoribus perceptis maiora permitteret.*

The meaning would seem to be, 'that the plebs, by obtaining the enjoyment of the smaller advantages, might drop any wish for the greater.' If this is so, *omitteret*, or *remitteret*, would be expected.

16. 6 :

Sane non ignoremus eadem aetate fuisse Pomponium sensibus †celebrem, uerbis rudem et nouitate inuenti a se operis commendabilem.

Warburton suggested *celerem*, comparing 118, *manu fortis, sensu celer*; 73, *manu promptus, cogitatione celer*. If *celebrem* means anything, it would probably be 'crowded,' cf. 90, not 'famous,' in which latter sense it is justly condemned here by Kritz; but Warburton's *celerem* is the word with which *celebrem* is confused in MSS., and might well describe the quickness in following up one idea with another, and never allowing the hearer to complain of sameness or monotony, which is one of the principal elements of humour.

26. 1 :

C. Marius, septiens consulis filius, annos natus sex et uiginti, uir animi magis quam aui paterni.

aeui may be defended, = 'fortune in life.' The younger Marius was killed in making his way through a mine out of Praeneste, as Velleius tells us in 27. The elder Marius died at an advanced age, and after he had been consul seven times. The *course* of a life naturally passes into the *incidents* or *fortune* by which it is marked.

26. 2 :

ne quid usquam malis publicis deesset, in qua ciuitate semper uirtutibus certatum erat, certabatur sceleribus, optimusque sibi uidebatur, qui fuerat pessimus.

fuerat, both A and P. Burer notes no variation. Halm prints *foret*; I cannot see why, though *foret* is the reading of both A and P in 95. 3, where it is obviously a mistake for *fuerat*, as Halm prints.

A, like P, gives *publicis*. Orelli mistook the abbreviation of *is* for *e*.

28. 2 :

uti adpareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris aut metu desideras Tulio Co. timuisse potestatem.

I offer a suggestion which I believe to be more than probable. *uti a. p. R. usum dictatoris haut metu desiderasse tali ac timuisse* (or, *quo timuisset*) *potestatem*.

The new point in this is *tali*, which might be followed by either *ac* or *quo*. The remainder of the corrections will be found in Kritz's edition.

28. 3 :

ut in qua ciuitate petulantis conuici iudicium †historiarium ex alto† redditur.

historiarium (P), *historiarum* (A, M) point either to *histrionicarum*, as Popma conj. with *ex albo* for *ex alto*, or possibly to an adj. *histrionarium*, which would give an extra touch of contempt.

30. 6 :

qua ultimo dimicauere acie.

qua ultimo, P, *quo ultima*, A. Both conspire to make it probable that *ultimo*, not *ultima*, was written by Velleius : *ultimo*, as adverb, 'finally,' is found in Petronius.

32. 4 :

praedonesque per multa a multis locis uictos (uictis, A) circa Ciliciam clam adgressus fudit ac fugauit.

Burer, at the end of his *Emendationes*, writes “alias ac multis locis uictos.” And this seems to be right, but *per multa* means not, as Kritz thought, “multis consiliis et apparatibus,” by many artifices, but “under a variety of circumstances,” implying that the *situations* of the piratic war were very diversified in character and incidents.

33. 1 :

Speaking of L. Lucullus, Velleius says :—

alioqui per omnia laudabilis et bello paene inuictus pecuniae expellabatur cupidine.

Amerbach's copy has *pellebatur*. Warburton conj. *pellicebatur*, an erroneous¹ form for *pelliciebatur*. Madvig subsequently conj. *pelliciebatur*, and this is printed as his by Halm. It is very remarkable that Kritz, who often records Warburton's conjectures, does not mention this one. The grammatical error (*pellicebatur*) does not deprive our countryman of the credit of making the best emendation yet proposed of a difficult passage.

36. 2 :

Auctoresque carminum Varronem ac Lucretium neque ullo in suspecti operis sui carmine minorem Catullum.

A conclamated passage, which we would give anything to restore, but which the actual suggestions of the various scholars recorded by Kritz leave still uncertain. Lipsius' *suscepti* is the one emendation which, by the combined assent of Heinsius, Markland, Ruhnken, Wakefield, Orelli, Madvig, and Halm, rises into something like certainty: for few will admit Kritz's interpretation of

¹ It is clear that Warburton made this mistake, and that it is not a slip of the printer's.

suspecti as = admirandi. Wopkens, retaining the rest of the passage as given in P, explained "Catullum in nullo carmine operis sui Varrone ac Lucretio fuisse minorem." It seems unlikely, in view of the very unequal character of Catullus' poems, especially of most of the epigrams, as compared either with the lyrics, Epithalamia, Attis, Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, or longer elegies, that Velleius should have talked of Catullus as not inferior to Lucretius or Varro in any *poem* included in the volume he had planned. I suspect *carmine* is a corruption of *conamine*. For though many of the Catullian epigrams, for instance, are inconsiderable, the *collective* effect of this section of his poems is such as to cause no regret that they are preserved with the rest of his works, and to justify the statement that in each of the various styles he attempted, he was equal to his two contemporaries.

Prof. A. Palmer suggests *insuspecti*, his undoubted poems.

40. 3 :

Velleius, speaking of Pompeius dismissing his army at Brundisium, on his return to Italy after the conquest of Mithridates, says :—

nihil praeter nomen imperatoris retinens cum priuato comitatu quem semper illi fufatare moris (fata remoris, A) fuit.

Wopkens seems to me right in defending Rhenanus' emendation, *uacare*, in the sense of waiting upon, attending. He compares 110. 1, *huic uni negotio uacaret animus*. The confusion of *v* with *f* is common in MSS.; and all the other emendations recorded by Kritz are palæographically worthless in comparison.

42. 2 :

Contracta classe et priuatus et tumultuaria inuectus in eum locum, in quo ipsi praedones erant, partem classis fugauit, partem mersit.

I believe *priuatus* to be right : neither *priuatum* (Cludius)

nor *priuata* (Oudendorp) are required. The latter, indeed, not only requires explanation (Kritz gives two), but is unlikely as introducing a harsh assonance. The nom. *priuatus* is, of course, right, agreeing with the subject of the sentence. 'Caesar getting together a fleet, though he was himself in no public position, and the fleet was raised for an emergency, sailed to the place where the pirates were themselves stationed, and partly routed, partly sank their ships.'

42. 3 :

in Bithyniam perrexit ad proconsulem †Iunium cum idem enim Asiam eam quam obtinebat.†

Nipperdei, Opusc., p. 326, cf. p. 448, makes it probable that *Iunium cum* points to *Iuncum*, Iuncus being the name of the pro-consul of Bithynia at this time, not Iunius. In Plutarch's Life of Caesar, 2, the MSS. give both 'Ιούλιον and 'Ιονγκον : the same event is there narrated. Nipperdei would correct the passage of Velleius thus : *perrexit ad p. Iuncum (idem enim Asiam obtinebat)*, regarding *eam* as a dittograph from *Asiam*. Halm preferred *Iuncum (is enim cum Asia eam quoque obt.)*. It is possible that Vell. wrote *Iuncum (idem enim Asiam eamque obtinebat)*; probably through a confusion of the abbreviations of *que*, *quam*. Of course *eamque* is Bithynia.

45. 3 :

It seems worth while to call attention to what is perhaps the finest correction which has been made in Velleius.

idem intra biennium sera Cn. Pompei cura, uerum †et cupit interit† . . . restitutus est.

ut coepit is from Gelenius, in the Basel ed. of 1546; *intenta* is by Wopkens, 1737. Pompeius was roused from his apathy about Cicero's banishment late, but his attention, when it was once roused, was unremitting.

47. 2 :

septimo ferme anno Caesar morabatur in Galliis (Gallis, A), cum medium iam ex inuidia Ponti ac (et, A) Camiliae cohaerentis inter Gn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia decessit.

So P, and A. Burer read *Pontiae Camiliae*. So far as I know, no one has suggested that *Camiliae* may be a mis-writing of *cum illa*. The preceding *Pontiae* was corrected by Lipsius into *potentiae*, but I cannot see how *Camiliae* can be a depravation of *male*. I offer the following:—

cum medium iam ex inuidia potentiae cum illa (aegr)e cohaerentis inter Gn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia decessit.

“when Julia, the pledge of reciprocal harmony between Pompeius and Caesar, a harmony which already, owing to the jealousy of rival power, could scarcely consist with that power, died.”

The construction would be *pignus concordiae ex potentiae inuidia aegre cum illa (potentia) cohaerentis*, i.e. p. concordiae quae ex potentiae inuidia aegre cum illa cohaerebat.

48. 5 :

ad ultimum saluberrimas †et coalescentis condiciones pacis . . . discussit et rupit.

Perhaps *etiam*, “terms of peace still not beyond possible accommodation.”

52. 4 :

When the battle of Pharsalia turned decidedly in favour of Caesar, the conqueror—

neque prius neque antiquius quicquam habuit, quam in omnes partes, ut militari et uerbo et consuetudine utar, dimitteret. pro (proh, A) dii immortales, quod huius uoluntatis erga Brutum suae (suae, om. A) post eam uir tam mitis pretium tulit !

This reading of P admits of satisfactory explanation,

without having recourse to a lacuna after *dimitteret*, if for *in omnes* we substitute *incolumes*. It does not seem quite certain that *ut*, which Gelenius introduced, was written by Velleius. Its omission would be a breviloquence quite intelligible in a soldier: ¹ *cf.* 45. 1, *legem tulit, qui ciuem Romanum indemnatum interemisset et aqua et igni inter-diceretur*, where *ut aqua* might have been expected (as in the passage of Cic. p. dom. 18. 47, quoted by Kritz, *Velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdicator*), but where Gelenius, with more verisimilitude, conj. *ei aqua*. Velleius says Caesar's first consideration, after the battle had determined itself on his side, was to dismiss the Pompeians uninjured. Among these was Brutus, as Plutarch expressly writes, Brut. 5, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ . . . προειπεῖν τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ μὴ κτείνειν Βρούτον, ἀλλὰ φεῖδεσθαι: an act of generosity which Brutus requited by taking part in the murder of Caesar.

The military word is *partis* = faction, side. Cic. Phil. xiii. 20. 47, Antoniusne potius et Ventidius *partis* Caesaris defenderent quam primum Caesar . . . deinde Pansa et Hirtius, qui quasi cornua duo tenuerunt Caesaris, tum cum illae uere *partes* uocabantur. Velleius himself, shortly before, neque hercules quidquam *partibus* illis salubrius fuit; and again, dignatione *partium*. Bell. Afric. 87. 4, Caesaris *partibus* fauisse sciebant. And so Lucan throughout.

It is not equally clear what military *custom* is meant: for to dismiss the conquered army unharmed could only be an *occasional* act. Possibly Velleius meant that it had become frequent in his own time. But it is more likely that, with A (Amerbach's apographon), we should accept,

¹ Such military breviloquence accounts for the omission of any verb like *duceret* in 109. fin. *Sentio Saturnino mandatum ut per Catos . . .*

legiones . . . Boiohaemum; ipse . . . exercitum . . . ducere in Marcomannos orsus est.

as the original reading of the codex of Murbach, *ut militari uerbo* (without *et*) *et consuetudine utar*, and, with Lipsius, change *et cons.* to *ex cons.* The whole will stand thus: *quam (ut) incolumes partes (ut militari uerbo ex consuetudine utar) dimitteret*: cf. II. 100, Iulus Antonius quem uicto eius patre non tantum *incolumitate* donauerat, sed sacerdotio . . . honoratum . . . in adfinitatem receperat.

On the ordinary view, which supposes a lacuna after *dimitteret*, the sense being that, after the battle had turned in his favour, Caesar sent round, in all directions, a notice, "*parce ciuibus*," Suet. Caes. 75, App. B. C. 2. 86, the words which follow *dimitteret*, namely, *pro dii immortales*, &c., have an abruptness, not to say suddenness, which seems to me almost ridiculous. Whereas, on the other hypothesis, as stated above, Brutus would be the first prominent figure that would occur as a type of the Pompeians spared by the conqueror after the battle of Pharsalia.

54. 4:

hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Caesarem cotidie aliquid transfugiebat.

aliquid transfugiebat must have been the reading of the Codex Murbacensis, as not only Burer vouches for it, but Amerbach's apographon agrees. The reading of P, *aliqui transfugiebant*, seems to be a mere correction by Rhenanus. Wopkens and Kritz both defend the neuter *aliquid*, the latter citing Cic. Fam. x. 11. 9, *si uero copiarum aliquid secum adducit Antonius*. This neuter *aliquid* has been altered unjustifiably elsewhere. Prop. III. 23. 19, where most MSS. give *Me miserum! his aliquis rationem scribit auari*, the correction *auarus* is, I believe, wrong. The MS. Bodl. Add. B. 55, gives *aliquid auari*, "some miserly creature": whether a correction, or a *bona fide* v. l., it is difficult to determine.

60. 4 :

Sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesare ad aedem Opis, occupatum ab Antonio, actorum eiusdem insertis falsis ciuitatibusque corruptis commentariis.

Orelli and Kritz follow Cludius in writing *act. eiusd. insertis falsis* uitiatisque corrupti commentarii. Kritz makes a good case for the nominatives *corrupti commentarii*, but *uitiatis* for *ciuitatibusque* seems very questionable. The passage quoted by Kritz from Cic. Phil. v. 4. 11, *decreta falsa uendebat, regna ciuitates immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubeat incidi: haec se ex commentariis Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat*, suggests that before *ciuitatibusque*, the similarly terminating *immunitatibus* may have fallen out. After forming this conj. on diplomatic grounds, I found I had been forestalled in it by Perizonius.

66. 1 :

Furente deinde Antonio simulque Lepido, quorum uterque, ut praediximus, hostes iudicati erant, cum ambo mallent sibi nuntiari quid passi essent quam quid meruissent.

This seems to mean nothing more than that Antonius and Lepidus liked to be told of the injuries they had received, rather than of the punishment that threatened them for their illegal and unconstitutional acts: in other words, considered themselves to be in an irresponsible position, in which they were expected to assert themselves against enemies who had injured them, and show complete indifference to their own crimes and the punishment they deserved.

68. 1 :

Suo praeteritum loco referatur; neque enim persona umbram actae rei capit.

“Let me here record a circumstance which was omitted

in its proper place: since the character of the person does not admit of a real fact being kept in the dark." *Persona* is here the *personality* of the man in question, M. Caelius.

Notice the fondness of Velleius for methodical and systematic sequence in his rapid *resumé* of Roman history, and the (in so short a sketch) almost laughable recurrence of such formulæ as *quatenus aliquid ex omissis peto* (68. 4), *sed ad ordinem redeundum est* (ib. fin.). Perhaps this lies at the bottom of an obscure passage (59. 1) in which, after mentioning that Caesar, in his will, adopted C. Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia, Velleius adds:

de cuius origine etiam si †præuenit et† pauca dicenda sunt (so A and P).

I suggest that, for the obelized words, *præueniet* should be written, the idea being that, although any discussion of Octavianus' ancestry was, at this early period of his career, *premature*, and an anticipation of the place where it might naturally be looked for in Velleius' narrative, the greatness of his eventual career justified its insertion at this point.

Ib.:

dum in acie Pharsalica Africæ.

It is not clear to me that this is wrong, though Kritz pronounces it a "foedissima deprauatio." Under *Africæ*, "and in Africa," Velleius might include Caesar's operations in Egypt, immediately after Pharsalia, and his subsequent war in Numidia with king Juba. At any rate, Haupt's emendation *acriter*, which Halm prints, is not probable diplomatically.

89. 1:

Caesar autem reuersus in Italiam atque urbem occursus quo fauore omnium hominum aetatium ordinum exceptus sit.

Kritz retains this, supposing Velleius to have constructed *fauore* with a double genitive, like *ipsius aduentus* (but A

and P give *aduentu) uigore ac fulgore* II. 50, *cuius interitus uoluptas*, II. 21 : he explains *occursus fauore* to mean *f. qui declaratur occursu*, or *qui cernitur in occursu*.

It is not impossible, I think, that *occursu quo* has been corrupted into *occursus*. For (1) either *quo* might fall out before the second *quo*, or (2) *q#* having left only *q*, this might be mistaken for *s*. Lipsius' *quo occursu* is, no doubt, much neater as regards the order of the words, but it hardly accounts for *occursus*. In 103. 4, for *manus spemque*, Amerbach's apographon gives *manuque spem quae*.

Ib. :

consulatus tantummodo usque ad undecimum †quem continuaret Caesar cum saepe obnitens repugnasset impetrare potuit.

In spite of his strenuous resistance, all that Augustus could succeed in effecting was to be able to hold the consulship for not more than eleven times successively.

consulatus must be accus. plural; *quem*, therefore, is wrong. By writing *qui*, "a way by which," a possible construction is obtained. Madvig's *quin*, with a *non* inserted before *potuit*, is open to the objection that his interpretation of *tantummodo* makes it qualify *consulatus*, not, as it surely does, *undecimum*. Nor is any negative required with *impetrare potuit*, for that purpose is answered by *tantummodo*, which = *nihil impetrare potuit nisi qui* (*i.e.* qua ratione) *continuaret consulatus ad undecimum usque* (*neque ultra*).

90. 1 :

I believe the strange corruption, *et coram aliero*, to have arisen from *etiam coaluerunt*, rather than from *et coaluere*, as Bergk, the author of this very fine emendation, thought.

etiam coaluerunt became ^{*iam*} *et co aluerunt*, and this *et coram aliero*. This is, of course, only a diplomatic improvement upon the original idea : but it appears to me to make it more probable.

99. 4 :

illud etiam in hoc transcurso dicendum est ita septem annos Rhodi moratum ut omnes qui pro consulibus legatique in transmarinas profecti prouincias uisendi eius gratia †ad quem conuenientes†, semper priuato, si illa maiestas priuata umquam fuit, fascis suos summiserint.

Perhaps *tamquam ad principem conuenientes*. The insertion of *sunt* (Halm) after *transmarinas* is, as Kritz saw, not necessary.

In this sentence we get the full-blown adulation of Tiberius, which must detract from the air of general honesty in Velleius' narrative.

103. 3 :

itaque quod post Lucii mortem adhuc caio uiuo facere constituerat, †atque uehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus.

So P. Burer says the Codex Murbacensis pointed to *eoque* or *eo quod*, but that the actual letters could hardly be read. Amerbach's apographon has *quae eo*. It seems likely that *que* of *atque* was the cause of error, and that we should write *atque eo*. I agree with Aemil. Thomas in his view of the construction. *atque eo* is the regular change from the relative *quoque*. Thomas, however, prefers *eoque*, which on diplomatic grounds I think improbable.

107, 1 :

cum citeriorem ripam praedicti fluminis castris occupassemus et ulterior (ulteriora A) armata hostium iuuentute fulgeret sub omnem motum nostrarum nauium protinus refugientium.

So P, but *motumque* must have been in the Codex Murbacensis, as both Burer and Amerbach agree.

I suggest *sub omnem motum undecumque*. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 27, *rupis quam fluctus non desinunt, undecumque moti sunt*, uerberare.

108, 1 :

incinctos Hercyniae siluae campos incolebat.

If the dative is genuine, the construction of *incinctos* would seem to be assimilated to the ordinary construction of *circumdatus*. Heinsius, however, conj. *Hercynia silua*.

109, 1 :

corpus suum custodia tum imperium perpetuis exercitiis paene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum, breui in eminens et nostro quoque imperio timendum perduxit fastigium.

Another conclamated passage. The only extra light as to the actual reading of the Cod. Murb. is to be found in Burer's statement, "Exemplum uetustum sic habet, ut potius legendum existimem corpus suum custoditum imperium."

I think Wopkens and Kritz are right in finding here a genitive, *corpus imperii*, a combination for which Kritz cites Florus iv. 3. 5, Tac. Hist. i. 16, Sen. de Clem. ii. 2. Both critics, however, write *custoditum*. To me the meaning of the sentence seems to point rather to *incustoditum*, contrasting the former time in which Maroboduus' empire had been unprotected by anything like a formally constituted standing army, and the latter in which he introduced much of the martial training and discipline of the Romans. I would write *corpus sui incustoditum ante imperii*.

Ib. 2 :

totumque ex male dissimulato agebat aemulum.

Except *totum*, for which Acidalius and Madvig write *in totumque*, the rest of this sentence appears to be sound ; *ex male dissimulato* (*aemulo*) *agebat aemulum* (*uerum*). He passed from the part of an only partially disguised, to that of an actual, rival.

110, 1 :

rumpit interdum moratur proposita hominum fortuna.

Warburton's *maturata* for *moratur* deserves a mention :
 'innuerat enim Historicus uerbis *praeparauerat iam hiberna Caesar ad Danubium*, &c., consilia Caesaris in Germanos iam maturari.'

111, 4 :

quanto cum temperamento simul utilitatis res auctoritate imperatoria agi uidimus !

I suspect¹ *simul* to be the remains of an original *simulatae* or possibly *dissimulatae*. Tiberius' success as emperor was due partly to his *auctoritas*, partly to his impressing on his officers, and through them on the army generally, the *expediency* of the particular line of strategy he happened to be taking. *Simulatae* would imply that the motive of expediency was sometimes appealed to more than the occasion seemed to justify ; *dissimulatae*, that Tiberius did not choose to parade it, but only used it to reinforce the other and much more powerful influence, his personal *auctoritas*.

In any case *utilitatis* appears to be confirmed (against Ruhnken's and Madvig's *ciuilitatis*) by 112, 3, *ad arbitrium utilitatemque nostram macerata* ; 127, 2, *interest r. p. quod usu necessarium dignitate eminere, utilitatemque auctoritate muniri*. We are specially told that Tiberius was a man *utilia speciosis praeferens* : 113, 2.

112, 4 :

quippe magna Thracum manu iunctus (so A, but P has *uinctus*)
praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalces Thraciae rex in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat.

¹ I would not, however, deny that Wopkens' explanation of *simul* is possible, 'dicit auctoritatem imperatoris,

uti decet, cum temperamento simul utilitatis fuisse coniunctam, seu utilitate fuisse temperatam.'

P has *magna Thracum manu*: A, *magnam Thra^{-cum} manu*; and it is usual to write *magnam Thracum manum*, retaining *in* before *adiutorium*.

It is at least equally possible that *in* should be omitted, and the abl. retained. Even if *magnam manum* be allowed, I should still prefer *adiutorium*, "as an auxiliary force," to *in adiutorium*, which is more in the style of patristic than classical Latin.

Ib. 6:

interempto praefecto castrorum praefectisque cohortium, non incruentis centurionibus, qui etiam primi ordines cecidere.

So P: A and Burer give *quibus* for *qui*. I hold that *qui* is right, and would change *ordines* to *ordinis*, as Gelenius prints in ed. Basel. If *quibus* is kept, *e* must be inserted; and though Kritz has collected some instances from Caesar, Livy, Frontinus, Hyginus de Limit. in which *primi ordines* seems to = the leading centurions, it appears to me very doubtful whether Velleius would have permitted so peculiar a combination as *centurionibus e quibus primi ordines* (= *qui primi erant*) *cecidere*. Whereas *centuriones qui primi ordinis cecidere* is idiomatic in the construction of the genitive as part of the relative clause, and Velleian in its conciseness.

114, 3:

Speaking of the discipline Tiberius maintained in his camp, Velleius says:—

non sequentibus disciplinam quatenus exemplo non nocebatur ignovit; admonitio frequens, inerat et castigatio, uindicta tamarissima.

interdum for *inerat*, the conjecture of an anonymous critic of 1779, has, since Kritz supported it, gained general adoption, with *rarissima* or *tamen rarissima* for *amarissima*. To me the balance of the clauses seems to demand another adjective, perhaps *incerta*, "only occasional." This involves the omission of *et*. The corruption in *amarissima*

rose, I think, not from *tamen rarissima*, but, as Rhenanus conj. from *rarissima* alone: the *a* of *uindicta* was repeated with the following word, and this unintelligible contraction was developed into *amarissima*.

116, 4:

A. Licinius Nerua Silianus, P. Sili filius, quem uirum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est, †ne nihil optimo ciui, simplicissimo duci perisset praeferens inmatura et fructu amplissimae principis amicitiae et consummatione euectae in altissimum paternumque fastigium imaginis defectus est.

So P: but Burer says the Codex had *ne nihil non*, and Amerbach's apographon has *me nihil non*. This *ne* or *me* seems to be a mere iteration of *ne* in *ne qui*; in *perisset* I find a truncated *superesse*; *nihil non* must, I think, be right; *praeferens* I explain of a definite admirer of Silianus, who, in some published work, had alleged (*praeferens*¹) that his hero possessed every quality of an excellent citizen and single-hearted general in more than sufficient measure. After *inmatura* Orelli supplied *morte*, rightly it would seem.

Quem uirum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est, nihil non o. ciui, s. duci (su)peresse praeferens. Cf. 125, 4, in summa pace et quiete continuit, cum ei pietas lectissima sentiendi et auctoritas quae sentiebat obtinendi *superesset*.

118, 4:

id Varo per uirum eius gentis fidelem clarique nominis Segesten indicatur: postulabat etiam fata consiliis, omnemque animi eius aciem praestruxerat. quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque qui fortunam mutaturus deus consilia corrumpat efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, etiam merito accidisse uideatur, et casus in culpam transeat.

So P: but Burer notes "ex. uet. habet et etiam merito accidisse, &c., ego legendum puto id etiam." *Et etiam*

¹ Fronto to M. Aurelius, p. 72, *quod spem propinquam, quod uotum Naber praeferens Faustinam id tibi esse impetratum.*
quod lucem serenam, quod diem festum,

merito is also in Amerbach's apographon. Here I seem to detect the true reading in the error; Velleius, I believe, wrote, not *ut quod accidit etiam merito accidisse uideatur*, but *quod accidit, ut etiam merito acc. uideatur*. The idiomatic position of *ut* after the relative clause *quod accidit* became in time obscured, and for *ut* was written *et*, while *ut* itself was transferred to its more ordinary position before the relative clause.

qui is perhaps not *cui*, but another instance of the dative spelt with *q*; see my note on Catull. I. 1., unless indeed it is for *quoi*, which is hardly probable.

After *postulabat etiam* some words have obviously fallen out; the corresponding passage in Tac. Ann. I. 58, *Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios uinciret flagitavi*, not only makes this probable, but suggests the possible contents of the lacuna, e.g. [*uinciri conscios. Sed praeualebant iam*]. *Praestruxerat* was long ago corrected by Gelenius to *praestrinxerant*. The whole passage will now stand thus: id Varo per uirum eius gentis fidelem clarique nominis Segesten indicatur. postulabat etiam [*uinciri conscios. sed praeualebant iam*] fata consiliis, omnemque animi eius aciem praestrinxera[n]t: quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque qui (= *cui* or *quoi*) fortunam mutaturus [est] deus, consilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, quod accidit, ut etiam merito accidisse uideatur, et casus in culpam transeat.

119, 2. Speaking of the destruction of Varus' army by the Germans, Velleius says:—

exercitus omnium fortissimus . . . marcere ducis perfidia hostis iniquitate fortunae circumuentus, cum ne pugnandi quidem egregie, aut occasionis in quantum uoluerant data esset immunis . . . ad internationem trucidatus est.

So P: but Burer notes that the Codex Murbacensis had *egrediē*: and Amerbach's apographon gives *egredie*. From Burer's note we are led to suppose that *egredien*[*di*] was the original, and the choice seems to be between *aut egrediendi* and *egrediendine*, the former Haase's, the latter Voss' conjecture. With Madvig I incline to the latter, partly as neater, partly as doing less violence to diplomatic: the following words I would correct thus, *occasio nis*[*i*] *in*[*i*]*qua* [*nec in qua*]ntum uoluerant data esset *immunis*: "no opportunity having been allowed them even of fighting or of leaving the camp except under unfavourable conditions and without immunity guaranteed them to the extent they wished": i.e. if the circumstances of the moment called for an immediate sally, they did not venture to take advantage of it because such sally would be considered an irregularity, and was likely to be punished as such.

in quantum uoluerant occurs again in 120, 3, *hereditatem occisi exercitus, in quantum uoluerat, ab eo* (Tiberius) *aditam*.

120. 2:

nec temerario consilio, nec segni prouidentia fusi, speculatique opportunitatem, ferro sibi ad suos peperere reditum.

So P: but Burer says the Cod. Murb. had *uiti*, and Amerbach's apogr. gives *niti*. Burer conj. *adiuti*, Heinsius *iuti*, as in Tac. Ann. xiv. 4. This must surely be right; neither *nisi* nor *uicti* (Aemil. Thomas) seems equally probable.

125. 4:

(*Drusus*) *prisca antiquaque seueritate usus, ancipitia sibi tam rem quam exemplo pernicioſa, et his ipsis militum gladiis quibus obsessus erat, accidentis coecruit.*

For *tam re*, Burer states that the Cod. Murb. gave *timere*, and so Amerbach's apographon. The antithesis *tam re quam exemplo* seems to me certainly right, and I cannot but marvel at Madvig's perversity in suggesting the much inferior conj. *ancipitia sibi* maluit tenere, which is not even easy to understand. I believe *timere* to contain the remains of *tam(qu)e re*: *ancipitia sibi, tamque re quam exemplo pernicioso*, sc. *coercuit*, "put a check upon acts which were hazardous to himself (*i.e.* to his authority as general), and were as noxious in their actual commission as in the example they set up." Whether, in the immediately preceding clause, the words *ut pleraque ignaue Germanicus* find an adequate correction in Ruhnken's *ignovit* must, I think, in spite of the adhesion of Kritz, Madvig, Halm, be considered *very* doubtful.

126. I :

Horum xvi. annorum opera quis cum †inserta sint† oculis animisque omnium, partibus eloquatur? Sacrauit parentem suum Caesar non imperio, sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum.

inserta sint, P; but the Codex Murb. had *insera*, as Burer states, and Amerbach confirms. I am not sure that *inserta* is right: the antithesis to *partibus* suggests *ingerantur*, or *ingerant se*, "obtrude themselves" from their vast number, Verr. ii. 3. 69, *ingerebat Cornelium medium at Cornelium pictorem et huiusmodi recuperatores*. Prop. iv. 5. 35, *Ingerat Apriles Iole tibi*. Dial. de Orat. 7, *quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt*. See Key, Latin-English Dict., s.v. With the following clause, cf. Manil. iv. 933-5, *ne dubites homini diuinos credere uisus. Iam facit ipse deos, mittitque ad sidera numen, Maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum*.

128. 2 :

qui equestri loco natus Sp. Caruilium et mox M. Catonem, nouum etiam Tusculo urbis inquilinum . . . prouexere.

I think a comma should be added after *Tusculo*, "a new man even to his native Tusculum, and at Rome a stranger who had settled there."

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN, IN A SYRIAC
VERSION HITHERTO UNKNOWN.¹

DR. GWYNN'S discovery of a hitherto unknown Syriac version of the Apocalypse, and that an older and better one than that which forms part of the printed Syriac New Testaments, is among the most interesting and remarkable of the many Biblical discoveries which have distinguished this age. His first account of the MS. which contains this version was published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. xxx.), and scholars have been looking forward to the publication of the more detailed examination of it then promised. The splendid volume before us not only answers, but surpasses, their expectations. In addition to the text of the MS. itself, it contains a singularly complete apparatus for its critical study. First (not in order) is a restoration of the Greek text which underlies this Syriac version. With this important help the scholar who is unacquainted with the Syriac language is in a position to understand thoroughly the bearing of the new MS. on the criticism of the Greek text.

This Greek text is fully provided with notes, in which the readings are critically compared with those of other

¹ Edited (from a MS. in the Library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), with Critical Notes on the Syrian Text, and an Annotated Reconstruction of the underlying Greek Text, by John Gwynn, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor

of Divinity, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin; to which is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the Apocalypse, by the Editor.

authorities. The Syriac text also is followed by a series of critical annotations, which leave nothing to be desired. As may naturally be supposed, there are frequent instances in which Dr. Gwynn's critical acumen enables him to show that the discrepancy between this version and the text of the Greek authorities is due to error of the Syriac copyists.

The very interesting Preliminary Dissertation (118 pp.) discusses, first, the present version itself as compared with the version hitherto current, and with the Syriac versions of the rest of the New Testament. This is followed by a discussion on the Greek text of the Apocalypse, and next, of the Greek text underlying the present version. The comparison with the texts of the principal Greek MSS. is full of interest. Dr. Gwynn discusses, in the next place, the date and authorship of this version, arriving at the conclusion that it is part of the "Philoxenian" New Testament, the only portion of which hitherto known was the version of the Four Epistles not included in the canon of the Syrian Church. An account of the use of the Apocalypse in the Syrian churches is followed, lastly, by a special account of the MS. actually in question.

From this general statement of the contents of the volume, it will be seen that its interest is by no means confined to Syriac scholars, and that those who have no acquaintance with that language may study it with interest and instruction.

In the remarks that follow I shall begin by giving some account of the MS. itself before coming to a consideration of the version which it contains.

The MS. (which contains the whole New Testament, and is in that respect unique) is in the library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, where it has been for about thirty or forty years, but how, or when, or from whence it was brought to this country is unknown. It is, however,

more important to know when and where it was written, and on these points the book itself gives some information. The colophon informs us that the MS. was written for Rabban Gabriel by one Stephen, belonging to the monastery of Mar Jacob, the recluse of Egypt, and Mar Barshabba, near Ṣalach, in Tur'abdin, in the dominion of Ḥesna Kipha. Tur'abdin, now Jebel-Tūr, is a district in the north-east of Mesopotamia, about one hundred miles long, long the headquarters of Jacobite monasticism. Ṣalach was the seat of a bishop. The writer also gives us the names of his teachers and instructors, asking the prayers of the reader for them, as well as for himself. These names, however, give little help. The first guide to the age of the MS. must be its handwriting. On this experts are divided, some assigning it to the eighth or ninth, some to the twelfth century. Dr. Gwynn gives sufficient reasons for adopting the latter view, and he has on his side the high authority of the late Dr. William Wright, of Cambridge (previously of Trinity College, Dublin), and of Dr. Karl Hörning. Both these scholars fixed independently on the same MS. in the British Museum as especially resembling this, and the MS. so chosen was written in the same region in 1196. Dr. Gwynn himself has ascertained, by search amongst the MSS. in the British Museum and in Paris, not only that nearly all the Biblical MSS. written in or near Tur'abdin resemble this more than any others, but further, that all these dated Tur'abdinese MSS. were written in the latter part of the twelfth century, which seems to have been a period of activity in that region. An important confirmation of this view of the date of the MS. is that it was not until the twelfth century that Ḥesna Kipha was made a principality. The version itself, however, is of much earlier date. This, indeed, is suggested by the character of some of the misreadings in the MS. itself, which point to repeated transcriptions. But more pointed

evidence is suggested by a MS. in the British Museum, which contains a considerable extract from this version, and which bears date A. Gr. 1185 = A.D. 874. A comparison of the readings in that extract with the Crawford MS. shows that the latter is derived ultimately at least from an older copy than the B. M. MS. Dr. Gwynn, however, does not stop here : by a conclusive chain of reasoning he identifies the author of the version.

The reader may be reminded that the generally received Syriac version of the New Testament, known as the Peshitto, does not include the Apocalypse, nor the four epistles 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. We know, indeed, that the Apocalypse was known to Ephrem in the fourth century, and was by him attributed to John the Apostle, but there seems to have been at that period no Syriac translation either of it or of the four epistles. At all events, they were not included in the canon of the Syrian Church.

Notwithstanding the literary excellence of this admirable version, a desire was felt at a later period for a more literal translation, and such a version was accordingly executed for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, by Polycarpus, his chorepiscopus, A.D. 508. This was superseded by Thomas of Harkel's revision (A.D. 616), which sought to represent the Greek more closely, even at the expense of the Syriac idiom. Accordingly, no part of the unrevised Philoxenian has hitherto been known, with the exception of the four epistles not included in the Syrian canon. These were published by Pococke in 1630, and it is this version of these epistles that appears in the printed New Testament, while the Apocalypse is from the revision by Thomas of Harkel, or at least from a version executed on the same principles.

Now, the conclusion to which Dr. Gwynn's reasoning conducts us is that the Apocalypse in the Crawford MS. is

the unrevised Philoxenian version. If this is so, we may expect to find in what we may now call the Harkleian version (Dr. Gwynn's Σ) traces of dependence on the Crawford version (which now, following Dr. Gwynn, we shall call S). And such traces we do find. Dr. Gwynn gives several instances of different kinds, but space does not permit them to be quoted here. We may, however, mention one curious error of Σ , which led J. D. Michaelis more than a century ago to forecast what is fulfilled by the discovery of S.

In three places we have *πετόμενον (-νοις) ἐν μεσουρανήματι* (viii. 13; xiv. 6; xix. 17). In the first of these Σ renders "[an eagle] flying in the midst which had a tail of blood," as if the translator mistook *μεσουρανήματι* for *μέσῳ οὐρὰν αἷματι*, and did not trouble himself about either grammar or sense. In the second passage he drops the "tail," and renders as if he read *οὐρανῷ, αἷματι*. In the third he is correct. Hence Michaelis inferred that there were two or more translations, and that one was interpolated from the other, adding "if I am not mistaken, the proper translation of *μεσουράνημα* may be referred to the more ancient version."

We proceed to give a few instances of noticeable readings:—

ii. 13. For *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐν αἷς] Ἀντίπας ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός [μου]* it renders as if *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀντίπας* (translated as a verb¹) *καὶ ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός· ὅτι πᾶς μάρτυς μου πιστός*. A Greek MS. (152) has a similar complete text, except that it does not mistake the name for a verb, but accents *ἀντίπας*. Σ agrees with S in this error as to *Ἀντίπας*, but varies in some respects. In the same verse S omits *ὅπου ὁ Σαρανᾶς κατοικεῖ* (with one Greek MS. 38). It also reads *παρ' ὑμῶν* for *παρ' ὑμῖν* (with one Greek MS. 95).

¹ The verb has been mistaken by the copyist, as also in two copies of Σ .

One or two instances may be mentioned where Σ presents a conflation, due apparently to the influence of S.

viii. 12. For *ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνη*, Σ reads (in two of the three MS. authorities) *ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσκοτίσθησαν· ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνη* (or *οὐ φανεῖ*). The Dublin MS. (copied for Ussher A.D. 1625) and the Polyglot mend this by writing *ἐσκοτίσθη* for *ἐσκοτίσθησαν*, and adding after it *ἵνα*. The cruder form is, no doubt, the earlier, and originated from the insertion in the text of the marginal alternative *ἐσκοτίσθησαν*, derived from S, which reads *καὶ ἐσκοτίσθησαν τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν*.

xiii. 17. In rendering *ἵνα μή τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι*, Σ omits the almost indispensable *dolath* before the future of the dependent verbs. This is at once accounted for by S, which does not read *δύνηται* (taking the verbs as optative).

xviii. 4. *ἵνα μὴ συγκοινωνήσῃτε . . . καὶ ἵνα μὴ λάβητε*, S omits *καί*, thus making the second clause dependent on the first, and, consequently, varies the rendering of *ἵνα*. Σ restores the *καί*, but retains the change in the rendering of *ἵνα*, not only without reason, but in opposition to its usual practice of uniformity of rendering.

Moreover, the MSS. of Σ contain marks indicating various readings, and some of these are not found in any authority except S. It is an admitted fact that in the Harkleian version such marks are part of the translator's work, and include references to the version on which it was based.

As to the textual affinities of S, Dr. Gwynn's conclusion, from an exhaustive comparison with the Greek authorities, is—That it is a mixed text, the larger component of which is a text adhering to the consent of *Ⲭ A C P*, or the majority of them, while the smaller component agrees with *Q* (Tischendorf's *B*, Westcott and Hort's *B*₁) and the cursives. Its special affinities are,

amongst the uncials with **Σ**, the oldest Greek MS., and among the Latin versions, with the Primasian, the earliest known form of the old Latin, probably the oldest version extant of the Apocalypse.

There is a remarkable agreement with **Σ** in some of the "eccentric" readings of that MS., *ex. gr.* the insertion of *εἶναι* in ii. 20, and of *λύσαι* before *τὰς σφραγίδας* in v. 5 (so Vulg. Clem.); *διακοσίων* for *ἑξακοσίων*, xiv. 20 (so one cur-sive, 26). Of agreement with Latin authorities, we may note v. 4, *καὶ λύσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ* = Prim. for *οὐτε βλέπειν αὐτό*. v. 9, *ἄδοντες . . . καὶ λέγοντες* for *καὶ ἄδουσιν . . . λέγοντες*. Here the agreement with Prim. is partial, as that version, though having "Cantantes," omits *καί*. vii. 1, After *ἀνέμους* it omits *τῆς γῆς* against all Greek copies, except MS. 38, but with some versions, including some texts of the Vulgate (so Cod. Armachanus), possibly the right reading. The following are doubtful:—xvii. 4, *ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ βδελύγματος* for *βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς [πορείας]*. The Latin authorities agree with the Greek in placing *βδ.* first, but for *τὰ ἀκ.* Prim. has "immunditiae," Vulg. "munditia" (abl. after "plenum"). These, however, may have been intended as renderings of *τὰ ἀκάθαρτα*. The Rec. Text has *ἀκαθάρτητος*, which is not only without attestation, but is an impossible word.

xvi. 3. For *ἐγένετο [i.e. ἡ θάλασσα] αἶμα ὡς νεκροῦ* S has *ἐγένετο θάλασσα ὡς νεκρός*. The support which the Latin gives this reading is only partial, two MSS. inserting *θάλασσα* before *αἶμα*. The Syriac text may be corrupt, as an inconsiderable alteration would make it agree with the Greek MSS.

xiii. 10. For *δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀποκτανθῆναι* S has *ἐν μ. ἀποκτανθήσεται*, supported only by the Stockholm Latin (Gigas).

Another instance of agreement with the same MS. is in xviii. 12, where for *τιμιωτάτου* agreeing with *ξύλου* it has

read *τίμιον*, agreeing with *σκεῦος*, as appears from the interpunction.

In one or two places, where S stands alone, it presents a very plausible reading, as in xviii. 16, where, instead of *καὶ κεχρυσωμένη* of the Greek text, it has *κεχρυσωμένα*, agreeing with *κόκκινα*, so that instead of the city (figured as a female) being herself gilded, it is her garments that are gilded. Some Greek cursives (including MS. 1), however, omit *καί*. N, which, with all other authorities, reads *κόκκινον* in the singular, has *καὶ κεχρυσωμένον*.

Another instance is xix. 16, *ἔχει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μηροὺς αὐτοῦ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον*, where all others insert *καί* before the second *ἐπὶ*. (The Leyden MS. of Σ has *καί* with*). The letter which represents *καί* might, indeed, be easily omitted by accident; but, on the other hand, the writer seems to be describing the appearance of him who bore the name, and this would require the written name to be visible. An unimportant difference is that in all other authorities the nouns are singular, *ἱμάτιον*, *μηρόν*.

Some of the errors of the scribe are instructive to the textual critic. For example, in xii. 1 he has substituted a crown of thorns for one of stars by the omission of a letter. Probably the idea of a crown of thorns was as familiar to the scribe as that of a crown of stars was strange.

Some other interesting errors of the scribe of S which Dr. Gwynn has corrected may be mentioned:—

vi. 12. *σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο*, S has *φῶς* for *σεισμὸς*. Similarly, in xi. 19, it has *πῦρ* for *σεισμὸς*, the difference in the Syriac words in the latter case being only that between *dolath* and *rish*, ܐ and ܝ. It is curious that the same confusion occurs in Dr. Gwynn's own text, p. lxxix, line 12. In the case of the Syriac copyist it was, doubtless, the rarity of the word for *σεισμὸς* that led to the substitution.

vi. 14. For *ἀπεχωρίσθη* (*i.e.* ὁ οὐρανός) S has a word meaning *ἐτάκη*, which yields a very good sense, if not better

than the Greek, reminding us of Isa. xxxiv. 4, where the Sept. has *τακήσουσι πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, followed by *ἐλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον*, just as here we have *ὡς βιβλία ἐλίσσονται*. But the reading is not supported by any other authorities: it probably originated from the transposition of two letters in the Syriac word, the scribe perhaps remembering the words in Isaiah.

In x. 2 also, the error of the scribe has produced a very fair reading, *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνθρακες πυρός* for *ὡς στῦλοι πυρός*. So in xiii. 3, instead of *ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου*, S has *ἀπήχθη κ. τ. λ.*

xix. 9 contains a more serious error, *τὸ δεῖπνον τῆς διακονίας* for *τὸ δ. τοῦ γάμου*, and the correction involves a more considerable change (omission of one letter and transposition of two others), but is certain. The scribe has given the right word in v. 7. In the same verse is another slighter and very natural error, *πάλιν* for *γράφον* (*καὶ εἶπεν μοι γράφον*), due to the loss of a letter.

A peculiar reading is that in xv. 4, *ὅτι δίκαιος* (or *εὐθὺς*) *εἶ* for *ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν*. This has no other support.

We have said enough to show that Dr. Gwynn's work has much interest for others beside Syriac scholars. It is seldom that a single document has received such a thorough examination; but nothing can be more serviceable to Biblical criticism than the minute study of single documents.

The printing of Dr. Gwynn's book is remarkably accurate, but we have noted two or three errors. One is mentioned above. In the note on the Greek text, viii. 12, for "Amrenian," read "Armenian"; p. cxxxiv b, line 6, for *om.* read *ins.* We may also note p. lxxix, line 20, for xv. read xvi.

T. K. ABBOTT.

NOVATIANI *DE TRINITATE LIBER*: ITS
PROBABLE HISTORY.

*A sequel to the Author's Essay on the Epistle to Diognetus.*¹

THE earliest notice that we have of Novatian's work on the Trinity is due to Jerome. In his *Catal. Eccl. Script.*, after mentioning the well known historical particulars of the *Schismatic Novatian*, he enumerates his various writings, and names lastly the present work in these words: "et de Trinitate grande volumen; quasi *ἑκτομὴν* operis Tertulliani, quod plerique nescientes, Cypriani existimant." It was supposed, however, that this could not have been the existing work, because the latter mentions Sabellius, and it was supposed that the heresy of Sabellius did not rise at so early a period. This was inferred from the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria given by Eusebius, vii. 6, in which he speaks of it as prevalent in Ptolemais, and describes it as if it was new to him. It might have been new to him, but we now know from the *Philosophumena* that Sabellianism was known in Rome at the time of Zephyrinus and

¹ In this Essay, *Hermathena*, No. xxii., the reader is requested to add, in p. 340, line 16, after xii., substituting a comma for the full stop, as follows: "unless we bring down this passage to a period later than Epiphanius. In his account of the Archontics, Haer. xl., ch. 9, Ed. Pötav., p. 295, he ascribes to them the notion that *ὁ διδβολος ἐλθὼν*

πρὸς τὴν Ἐναν συνήφθη αὐτῇ ὡς ἀνὴρ γυναικί, καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν τε Καὶν καὶ τὸν Ἀβελ. He does not trace this further back than one Peter who was anathematized by himself. But this would not explain the verbal coincidences noticed already. This late heresy seems to have been confined to parts of Judea and Armenia."

Callistus. So far there is no reason to doubt that the existing book is what Jerome speaks of. We also possess a work of Tertullian, that against Praxeas, of which the title is *Liber De Trinitate*. Nor is there any evidence of another work by Tertullian on the same subject. But as Novatian's grande volumen is longer by a seventh part than the work of Tertullian, it is not an epitome of it in the common meaning of that term, nor does it pretend to be so, or mention Tertullian at all. Hence Jerome's *quasi* only expresses his own imagination. I take it that he made a careless comparison of the two books, but observed that both treat of the Regula Veritatis, *eo nomine*, and follow the usual order of the three Persons, dealing with the same heretics, and necessarily using the like arguments. And then observing that Novatian omits all reference to Montanism which is treated of in the first chapter of Tertullian, he pronounced the work of the former an epitome of the latter on this account. For the present I shall only ask it to be kept in mind that Jerome says Novatian's book was commonly thought to be Cyprian's.

I pass now to another notice that Jerome gives of this work, in which his unsaintliness is strikingly displayed. The occasion was as follows :—Rufinus, in his tract on the Adulteration of Origen's works (apud Origen, by Lommatzsch, vol. xxv.), having given some examples of the adulteration by heretics of Greek writers, proceeds to give some instances in the case of Latin writers. That there should be no uncertainty about the facts, he says, "*res quae sunt adhuc nostrae memoriae retexam,*" that is within living memory. He gives three instances, of which the first relates to Hilary of Poitiers after the Council of Rimini, anno 359. A document of his was vitiated and then put back into his desk, and when called for was found to be heretical, which led to his having to withdraw

from a Synod. Jerome treats this as an invention of Rufinus and a calumny against Hilary. The next example is as follows: "Certain heretics who blaspheme against the Holy Spirit," had incorporated with the Epistles of Cyprian as his the work, *libellum De Trinitate* of Tertullian, "reprehensibly written as far as pertains to the truth of our faith," and circulated the collection at a cheap price in Constantinople, that they might give for their heresy the authority of Cyprian. And though this fraud had been detected, yet many believed that the work was Cyprian's. To this Jerome, adv. Rufin, lib. ii., replies as follows: "The calumny against the Confessor (Hilary) is, however, to be tolerated. He passes to the glorious Martyr Cyprian, and says that the book of Tertullian, of which the title is *De Trinitate*, was under his name commonly read by the heretics of the Macedonian party in Constantinople. In which accusation, mentitur duo, he tells two lies, for neither is the book Tertullian's, nor is it called Cyprian's, but Novatian's, with whose title it is inscribed, and the peculiarity of the style demonstrates the author's speech." For this brutal language Jerome has not the shadow of a justification in the statement of Rufinus. He did not specify the heretics, and I think I shall show that it was not the Macedonians that he had in view. That the book in question, if it was Novatian's, was called Cyprian's we have Jerome's own admission in the Catalogue as we have already seen. What he calls in that grande volumen is less applicable to Tertullian's book, which Rufinus calls *Libellum*, which is considerably shorter than Novatian's book of the same title; and his remark as to the peculiarity of the style applies alike to Tertullian and to Novatian, as compared with the other existing writings of Novatian, namely, his work *De cibis Judaicis*, and possibly the letter from the Roman Clergy to Cyprian during the vacancy before the

election of Cornelius when Novatian himself expected to be elected. So far for Jerome's reply to Rufinus.

But now we have to consider what heresy Rufinus had in view. First, there is nothing in either treatise, Tertullian's or Novatian's, that could be thought in any way to favour the Macedonian heresy touching the nature of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, the Divinity and distinct personality of the Holy Spirit is fully maintained in both. And next it is pretty clear that the Macedonian heresy had not come into existence as the specific doctrine of a sect at the time to which Rufinus refers.

To show this we must look to the indications of time. The story of Rufinus has itself no indication of time. But immediately after he proceeds to say, "I shall add farther an example of one such transaction, *quod memoriae quidem recentioris est, commissae autem nequitiae antiquum satis.*" It is plain that a very considerable time must have elapsed between the story just told and what he is now going to relate. This has to do with Pope Damasus at the time that there was deliberation held concerning the reception of the Apollinarians. This deliberation must have been prior to the Council at Rome, in 374, when they were condemned. Now Macedonius was deposed at Constantinople in 360, not for heresy but for murderous tyranny; and Socrates expressly says that it was after his deposition and banishment that he propounded the heresy that goes by his name, and it could not all at once have acquired a sufficiently numerous party to make it the subject of Conciliar condemnation, which did not take place till the second General Council at Constantinople, anno 381. And it is not likely that, until the question had become the subject of general discussion, that the party at Constantinople should have resorted to the trick of fastening upon Cyprian a work which after all did not help their cause, and that at the cost of circulating largely a very

extensive book containing the work in question with Cyprian's Epistles at a very small price. And I venture to think that this must have been too near 374 to justify the words of Rufinus that a transaction of this date was *memoriae quidem recentioris* as compared with the date of the preceding transaction.

But who then were the heretics that "blaspheme against the Holy Spirit"? I think Tertullian's *Libellus De Trinitate*, as Rufinus calls it, supplies the answer. It was not Macedonians, as Jerome says, but Montanists, far enough from the Macedonian notions, blasphemously identifying Montanus with the Paraclete, and ascribing to the Holy Spirit the ravings of Prisca and Maximilla, which to the orthodox would naturally sound very blasphemous. Let us see what Tertullian says in this book entitled *Libellus De Trinitate*, namely, his work against Praxeas, whom he represents as introducing the Noetian heresy into Rome, the very opposite to the doctrine of the Trinity. While the subject of the book is the doctrine of the Trinity as against the Patripassionism of Praxeas, he takes occasion in the first chapter to vent his indignation against Praxeas for having simultaneously with the introduction of the Noetian heresy hindered the Pope, it must have been Eleutherius, from acknowledging the new prophesying. In regard to the Patripassian doctrine he says of Praxeas: "He first introduced to Roman soil this new kind of perversity from Asia, a man turbulent also in other ways; moreover inflated by the boasting of martyrdom, on account of the sole, simple, and brief tedium of a prison; even if he had delivered his body to be burned he would have profited nothing, not having the love of God, whose charismata also he fought off. For the then Roman Bishop already acknowledging the prophesyings of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and from that acknowledgment conferring 'Peace' on the Churches of

Asia and Phrygia, the same man by asseverating falsehoods against the Prophets themselves and their Churches, and by defending the authorities of his predecessors, forced both to recall the Letters of Peace already issued, and to give way from his purpose of receiving the *charismata*. Thus he effected, *procuravit*, at Rome two great affairs of the Devil; he expelled prophesying and he introduced heresy, he put to flight the Paraclete and he crucified the Father." In the beginning of ch. ii. he speaks of himself as now more instructed by the Paraclete, *deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis*. This I take to mean the carrier on of all truth with special reference to the new prophesying. And so again in xxx., having mentioned the second coming of our Lord, he adds: "He in the meantime hath poured out the Holy Spirit; a gift received from the Father, *tertium numen divinitatis*, et *tertium nomen majestatis*, the preacher of one Monarchy, but also the interpreter of the oeconomy, if any one will receive the words of his new prophesying, and the carrier on of all truth," *deductorem omnis veritatis*. This identification of the Holy Spirit with the Montanist Paraclete was the blasphemy of the heretics of Rufinus who wished to gain for these notions the authority of Cyprian by passing off this work of Tertullian as Cyprian's. And these were the *non recte scripta* of Tertullian that Rufinus mentions. It is to be added that Montanism did not expire for a long time, as we learn from Jerome's Epistle to Marcella that it was in his time still alive and trying to gain converts. I may add that to the *Praescript. adv. haer.*, written by Tertullian before his adoption of Montanism, there is appended a list of heresies which is now recognized by the learned to be a translation of the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, whether adopted by Tertullian himself or not. In this, lii., we find mentioned two heresies *secundum Phryges*. One of these called *Kata*

Proclum is Montanism, the other, Kata Aeschinem is Noetianism, for it taught that Christ himself is both Son and Father. These two are described as blasphemy, and of these the Montanist was a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. It is not, therefore, without example that Rufinus should have described the heretics that ascribed the *De Trinitate* of Tertullian to Cyprian as blasphemous against the Holy Spirit.

In the edition of Tertullian by Junius, I find mentioned in the list of deperdita a work *De Trinitate*. That there was such a work different from Tertullian's existing *Libër De Trinitate*, seems to have been imagined only to explain Jerome's statement in the Catalogue that Novatian's *De Trinitate* was a kind of epitome of Tertullian's. As the existing book is smaller than Novatian's, and is certainly not epitomized by the latter, some other work, of which Novatian's was an epitome, had to be imagined. If such there was, and Novatian's was known to be an epitome of it, we might understand Rufinus calling this Tertullian's *Libellus* in opposition to the larger work *De Trinitate*. In that case Jerome's *mentitur* would still be unwarranted. But now, in the first place, Novatian's book is very complete in itself and betrays no symptom of epitomizing. And next, if Novatian did make such an epitome, we should expect to find something of the style and manner of Tertullian, while Jerome himself appeals to the peculiarity of the style in proof that the book was Novatian's and not Tertullian's, without a hint then that it was only an epitome of Tertullian, which, in all fairness, he ought to have done instead of absolutely accusing Rufinus of falsehood. But if we suppose that Novatian made a *quasi* epitome, as Jerome suggests in the Catalogue, merely transferring the thought and subject-matter; but wholly abandoning the phraseology of Tertullian, we should naturally expect to find him writing in his own

respectable Latin, such as his other remains exhibit, instead of adopting a very barbarous Latinity such as we find in the *De Trinitate*. It seems to me incredible that he should have done this. And even if we suppose that this was the *Libellus* that Rufinus mentioned, we should be equally at a loss to find what there was in it that could make any heretics, who in any way blasphemed against the Holy Spirit, find support for their opinions. We may, I think, therefore, absolutely reject this theory in trying to explain the difficulty.

Jerome, however, was right in speaking of the peculiarity of the style of this book of Novatian's. And the unlikeness of that to the style of other writings of Novatian, of which we have one book at least of sufficient extent to make the difference clear, requires to be accounted for. And it is the object of the following pages to suggest some considerations which may explain so strange an incongruity, while we have strong evidence that the existing book is in some measure due to the hand of Novatian. Certainty in a matter of this kind may be well unattainable, and yet there may be sufficient evidence to render a conclusion probable.

The first thing to be noticed is the very barbarous air of the work as a Latin composition, and the strong impression it makes of being a translation from Greek. On a general survey of the book this can only be a subjective feeling. Without pretending to any special discernment or any authority whatever in such a question beyond what is due to very extended reading, through a very great number of years, of authors in the Greek of those ages, I can only say this appears to me to be the case. I speak only of wide and habitual reading of post-Christian Greek. I take the case of Irenæus, and I could as well believe that the rude Latin of the bulk of his works, which we know to be a translation from Greek, was the original

style of a Latin writer, as that this work of Novatian was the natural Latin of one whose own original and natural Latin we know to be so different.

The same conclusion is to be derived from the numerous Scriptural versions to be found in it. For though these might characterize a Latin composition by a Greek writer who was not familiar with the genius of the Latin language, yet if we may trust the only evidence we have, namely, Jerome's, that it was the work of Novatian, it must certainly have been a translation from Greek, as Novatian was a Roman, distinct even from the African Novatus, though confounded with him by the Greeks; and his Latinity, as we see from the other writings of his that we possess, was not tinged with any tendency to Greek ways of expressing himself.

I shall first give some Grecisms mentioned in the notes of F. Junius, Franek., 1597.

Ch. i. Solidamento caeli] *στειρώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. Vulgo firmamento. I may add that this word is used more than once, and as the usual firmamentum is also used, the solidamentum is plainly derived from the Greek word.

Ch. iii. Animos—abruptos, *ἀποτόμους*, prae fractos, per vicaces.

Ch. iv. Non aliunde occurrit homini malum nisi a bono Deo recessisset] *οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ ἀποστῆναι*.

Argute reponit Latinius *recessisse*. The *aliunde* would in Latin require *recedendo*, while the gerundic infinitive is Greek.

Ch. vii. Deus caritas—nec ex hoc Dei substantia caritas expressa est]. Graeca phrasi utitur pro eo quod est, non eo intelligi oportet substantiam Dei nomine caritatis expressam esse.

Ch. x. Neque illum (sc. Christum) qui aetheream sive

sydeream, ut alii voluerunt haeretici, voluit carnem]. Voluit carnem, a volvendo non a volendo, ἐκυλίνδησε.

Nec ullum omnino alterum qui quodvis aliud ex figmento haeticorum ceperit corpus fabularum] suspicor fabularium, σῶμα μυθῶδες.

Ch. xv. Constitutus] συνιστάμενος. Legendum autem esse reperitur. Deus constitutus reperitur does not want the *esse*. Its absence, frequent in this writing, is a decided Grecism.

Ch. xx. Erroris semper est abrupta dementia] ἀπότομος, ἀπορρώξ. The sense is precipitous, for the sequel is et non est novum, si usque ad periculosa descendunt.

Ch. xxviii. Quae omnibus modis fieri habent] ἔχουσι γίνεσθαι.

I shall now mention such examples as I have observed myself. And I first notice a tendency to double negatives. Sometimes these are equivalent to an affirmative, and only show a predilection for this form. Thus in ch. i. we have *ne non* for *ut*, like the Greek μὴ οὐ. In x. we have it again, and in the next line *ne nullam*. In other cases the double negative strengthens the negation as in Greek. Thus in x. we have *non* followed by *nec* when it is superfluous. "Nec nomen Dei proprium possit edici, quoniam non possit nec concipi." In Latin this last *nec* would more usually be *vel*. In ch. xiii. we have non sivit nec vestes consumi, followed by several clauses similarly beginning with *nec*. And in xxviii. they are transposed, "nec non etiam subdidit illud quoque." We cannot take the 'nec non' as a single word, 'necnon,' for the sense of *also* is sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, expressed by the 'etiam' and 'quoque,' and we must translate, "nor did he not also subjoin this too." The frequency of this seems to me to indicate a Greek original. Still more such a phrase as in ch. xii., aut nonquid non est vobiscum? This 'nonquid non' is very unlike a Latin writer, but represents the Greek

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ οὐ or μήτι οὐ. And again we have in xxx., aut nunquid non et Christus Deus est? Just before there is the simple 'nunquid.' These seem simply to represent μήτι and μήτι οὐ, or $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ οὐ.

In ch. i. we have the following: ne non etiam ipsis quoque deliciis procurasset oculorum, "lest he should not even have procured the very delight of the eyes." The dative of the thing procured is certainly not pure Latin, which would properly be 'delicias oculis.' He might have had before him the verb *προνοεῖν*, followed by ἐπὶ τῇ τρυφῇ or ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδέει, and then the Latin not supplying a suitable preposition, he was content with the simple dative.

In the same chapter we have 'sacramentum' used for mystery in the largest sense of the latter word. Of the works of creation, he says, "immensa caelorum spatia et sacramentorum infinita opera." The word is used frequently in this work to denote mysteries of every kind, as the mystery of the Incarnation, the Passion, the wrestling of Jacob with the angel. But it is used nowhere in the proper ecclesiastical sense. But this had associated the word with the Greek *μυστήριον*, and he accordingly represented this word in other senses by 'sacramentum.' In xiv., "sacramentum passionis," and in xviii., in reference to the Incarnation, "dispositionem istam angelus videns, et ordinem istum sacramenti expediens," may be compared with τὸ μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας, of Hippolytus, Theophan., Lagarde, p. 37. In this case *οἰκονομία* is used in its patristic sense of the Saviour's human state.

In chapter ii. we read of the greatness of God, "qui est sublimitate omni sublimior." And this is followed by eighteen other terms similarly constructed and presenting similar alliteration, which is a good instance of the habit of running into series that pervades this work. In the course of this enumeration we find "omni virtute viritior." Now, in so long a series there was no reason why an

original Latin writer' should have, without necessity, introduced a term which necessitated the coining of such a word as 'viritor' to preserve the alliteration. But he had no help for it, if he found in his original πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀρίων, or ἐναρετώτερος. Farther on we have 'omni bonitate bonior,' though in some copies 'melior' appears, no doubt, to avoid the solecism of 'bonior.' I venture to think, that having already invented 'viritor,' he would not stick at 'bonior' in order not to spoil the alliteration in one instance. He might have had before him πάσης χρηστότητος χρηστότερος.

In chapter i., and all through the work, the Creator is called 'conditor omnium,' and *passim* we find 'conditio' for 'creation,' as also in the Latin version of Irenæus. As *condo* represents κτίζω in its proper sense of 'build,' so 'conditor' and 'conditio' are used to represent κτίστης and κτίσις, the words commonly used in Greek with regard to 'creation.'

In chapter iv. we have, "Deus enim, quicquid esse potest quod Deus est." Here 'potest' is not used to express the power of God, but what is the meaning of the word 'God.' In this use 'potest' is not Latin, but represents the Greek δύναται, commonly used in the sense of 'means.' The 'quod est' is the common artifice of later Latin writers to express the Greek article used materially, as the grammarians say, and occurs elsewhere in this book. The writer intends, "whatever is the meaning of the word 'God.'" In other parts of this chapter 'quod est' is used to represent the Greek well known phrase τὸ ὄν, and in that sense the Latin phrase is scarcely intelligible. And these phrases are several times used in this chapter, plainly showing the embarrassment of the writer in translating a Greek original. Again, we have in this same chapter, "quod enim natum non est nec mutari potest." Here there is no reference to the birth of Christ, and the word is used

in the sense of 'created,' and is plainly an imitation of *γεννητός* or *γενητός*. And at the close, speaking of the necessary connection of immortality and incorruptibility, we have: "invicem sibi et in se connexionem mutua perplexa, et ad statum immortalitatis vicaria concatenatione producta." Here the word 'vicarius' in the sense of 'mutual' is plainly not a Latin usage, but would represent some such Greek word as *ἀμοιβαῖος*.

In chapter vi., with reference to anthropomorphic representations of the Deity, we read: "Rationem enim divinae Scripturae de temperamento dispositionis cognoscimus. Parabolis enim adhuc secundum fidei tempus de Deo prophetae loquebatur — quomodo populus capere poterat." This passage seems to betray a Greek original. 'Temperamento dispositionis' is unintelligible as Latin, but would represent *τῆς διαθέσεως τῆς οἰκονομίας*. And a Latin writer would scarcely spontaneously use the word 'parabolis' in the sense of 'figures of speech.' And 'tempus' is used in the sense of *καιρός*. Farther on, when hearing or seeing is said of God, this is only figurative. "Quae concreta non sunt sentire non possunt." Here 'sentire,' used to express the use of senses, seems to be more Greek than Latin. It might represent *αἰσθητικὸς εἶναι*.

In chapter x., of the substance of our flesh, we read, "quae divinis manibus exstructa est." Here again we have the Greek *ἐκτίσθη*, 'was built.'

In chapter xi. of Christ, "hominem illum nudum et solitarium probare." In this use of 'solitarius,' several times thus employed, not properly expressed according to Latin usage, we have a substitute for the Greek *γυμνὸς καὶ ψίλος*. The writer seems to have thought that 'solus,' which he uses once in the same connexion, did not exactly express what was intended.

In chapter xii. we find 'sanitatum signa,' where signs

of health are not intended, but miracles of healing; we have the Greek *σίμεια*, used to denote miracles.

In chapter xv., "Ex quo manus ponere figuram et formam futuram passionis ostendens." This is used of Jacob's blessing the sons of Joseph. 'Manus ponere' seems to represent the Greek, *τὸ χειροθετεῖν*. The words are used substantively, but a Latin writer would not probably have, of himself, used the infinitive. Again, we have in the same chapter, "unius hominis potestatem." This, as Latin, would mean, the power possessed by one man, as 'potestas' only takes a genitive in this sense. But here it denotes the power of Moses over Pharaoh. It is a Grecism. *Κράτος* takes a genitive of the person over whom the power is exercised.

In chapter xvi. we read "pignerata in illo divinitatis et humilitatis videtur esse concordia." Here 'pignerata,' in the simple sense, of assured without reference to any kind of pledge would scarcely have occurred to an original Latin writer, but seems to have been derived from the Greek *ἐγγυάω*, which is commonly thus used. And in xxx. the same Greek word is again translated by a still more unusual manner of speaking. "Nostram fidem, qua unus Deus et per Scripturas promittitur, et a nobis tenetur et creditur." The word 'promittitur' is surely not Latin in this case. It plainly represents the Greek *ἐγγυᾶται*.

In xvii. we read "hoc ipsum in gloriam Dei patris succurrere asseritur." Here 'succurrere' is unlikely as a Latin word, but is evidently used for *ἀναρρέχειν*, which is more suitable to the intended meaning.

In chapter xix. we have "ut principalitas nominis istius Filius Dei in Spiritu fit Domini qui descendit et venit, ut sequela nominis istius in filio Dei et hominis sit." Here 'principalitas' is used in the sense of 'principium.' This abstract is manifestly due to the Greek *ἀρχή*, which signifies both beginning and principality in the sense

'authority.' The *sequela* plainly shows the beginning is intended. In the next sentence, 'dispositionem istam angelus videns,' we have represented the Greek διάθεσις or οἰκονομία, as in several other places.

In xx., "generositatem immortalitatis," and "generositas verbi Dei," are not like an original Latin work. 'Generositas' thus used betrays the Greek εὐγένεια. At the close, "frangitur potestas mortis, ubi intercedit auctoritas immortalitatis" seems to represent ἐξουσία as opposed to δύναμις. 'Auctoritas' is used in an unlikely way.

In xxvi., we have the phrase "quae malum ratio est?" This interjectional use of 'malum,' answering to our "What the plague," or a coarser expression, is hardly suited to so serious a discussion, but seems to have been adopted to express the Greek τί ποτε, or τί δήποτε. It occurs more than once.

In xxviii., at the beginning, we read: "dum haereticus quasi oculo quodam gaudet propriae veritatis et luminis amisso." This is very obscure. The 'quodam' of course represents the enclitic τινι. Then it seems strange to make a man rejoice in the loss of an eye of proper exactness and of light. I fancy the writer did not understand a Greek original from which he was translating, and that he had before him ὀφθαλμῷ τινι χαίρει τῆς ἰδίας ἀληθείας, καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφιεμένῳ, and that taking ἀφιεμένῳ as a passive, he rendered it etymologically by 'amisso.' The proper meaning would be, "an eye that forsakes or neglects its true vision and the light," instead of carrying the genitives back to 'oculo,' whereas they are the proper case after ἀφιεμένῳ. At the end of the same chapter we find as follows: "A field large and wide will be opened if we shall desire more fully to drive about this heretic, since 'duobus istis locis quibusdam effossis luminibus orbatus, etc.'" Here we cannot construe 'quibusdam' with 'luminibus.' For though we might say 'oculo quodam,' as before, in the

singular, to speak of a man having some eyes punched out would be absurd. Of course 'quibusdam' represents *τισι*, and belongs to 'locis.' He has done enough by putting out such eyes as his adversary had, by some two out of many possible passages, the two which were adduced in this chapter.

In the last chapter we have again 'natus' and 'in-natus' several times, besides 'genitus,' all derived from *γεννητός* and *ἀγεννητός*. And near the close we have the following: "vis divinitatis emissa, etiam in filium," and "tradita et directa rursum per substantiae communionem ad patrem revolvitur." This word 'directa,' in the sense of 'porrecta' as in the next sentence, is very unlike a Latin usage, but would have come from the Greek *διατείνόμενος*. And then 'substantiae communionem,' which is good Latin, seems to represent the Greek *ὁμοουσιότης*. Origen has the word *ὁμοούσιος*, the idea of which is exactly expressed by Novatian's Latin, this language having no corresponding term.¹

These many indications of a Greek original might, perhaps, be multiplied, but as I have already said, the general air and character of the whole treatise, which must be judged by the discernment of the reader himself, seems to me to betray the work of a very literal translator. The style and manner are very unlike what might be expected from a native Roman, as they are wholly unlike Novatian's own Latin as exhibited in his work *De cibis Judaicis*. And then, if it is admitted to be a translation from Greek, we know of but one important Greek work on the subject of this treatise that would be in the hands of a Roman of Novatian's time, namely that of Hippolytus, who wrote in Rome his lost work against Artemon. Our next step must be to inquire if there are any indications of style and ideas sufficiently resembling those of

¹ So in Philos. x. 33 of the Logos, διὸ καὶ θεὸς οὐσία ὑπάρχων θεοῦ.

Hippolytus, to confirm the identification of Novatian's *De Trinitate* with this lost work of Hippolytus, lost, I mean, in its original form, even if preserved in its substance by Novatian.

Let us then inquire if there is anything in the general style and manner of Hippolytus that resembles the *De Trinitate*, and if we can observe any similarity of thought that may add probability to this supposition. And first, as to style and manner, we find that the habit of running into continuous series of words, phrases, and clauses similarly constructed, which is a marked peculiarity of Hippolytus, pervades the *De Trinitate* in an equally remarkable manner. Thus the *Theophany* of Hippolytus sets out with a beautiful description of the works of creation in an enumeration of the heavenly bodies and terrestrial objects, all intended to lead up to the excellencies of water preliminary to its use in Baptism. But all this is quite useless, except for ornament, to the writer's purpose. In like manner the *De Trinitate* sets out with a like description of the works of God in creation, pursued in a similar manner of enumeration, having no bearing whatever on the doctrine of the Trinity, and merely serving for ornament, but betraying a like mental habit. And this is rendered the more distinct by the absence of any kind of imitation, and the independent way in which the particulars are described. I shall exhibit them in parallel columns:—

De Trinitate :

“ The rule of truth exacts that first of all we believe in God the Father and Lord Omnipotent, that is the most perfect creator of all things; who suspended the Heaven in lofty sublimity, consolidated the earth in laid down mass, diffused the seas in relaxed fluidity, and arranged all these,

Theophany OF HIPPOLYTUS :

“ Beautiful and beautiful exceedingly are all the creative works of our God and Saviour, both whatever the eye beholds and whatever the soul thinks of, and whatever reason interprets and whatever the hand turns about, and whatever thought encompasses and humanity comprehends. For what

both adorned and full with proper and suitable furnishings. For both in the solidament of Heaven he hath raised up light-bearing risings of the Sun, hath filled the whiteshining globe of the Moon with monthly increments of its orb for the solace of men, and also kindled the rays of the stars with flashes of glittering light, and He hath willed all these to go round the circuit of the world in legitimate courses, to make for the human race days, months, years, signs, seasons, and all utilities. On the lands also he hath lifted up the loftiest mountains to a peak, and hath cast down the valleys to the lowest parts, hath spread plains in loveliness, hath established herds of animals usefully for various services of men. He hath also made solid the oaks of the forest to be profitable for human uses, hath drawn forth fruits for food, hath disclosed the mouths of springs, and poured them into streams to glide down. And lest He should not also have provided delight for the eyes, He hath clothed all with the various colours of flowers for the pleasure of beholders."

beauty is more multiple than the Heavenly disk? What appearance more many flowered than the earthly encompassment? What more swift to run than the solar chariot? What more graceful yoke than the lunar star-sign? What more worthy of admiration than the many spotted museum of the stars? What more rich for produce than the seasonable breezes? What mirror more unstained than the light of day? What living being more noble than man? For beautiful and beautiful exceedingly are all the creative works of our God and Saviour. But what gift also is more needful than the nature of water? For by these waters all things are both bathed and nourished and purified and moistened. Water begets the dew, cheers the vine; water brings to perfection the standing corn, water brings the cluster into berries, water makes the olive tender, water sweetens the palm tree, water makes the rose to blush and the violet to blossom; water nourishes the lily with golden chalices."

The description of the excellencies of water and its operation in the vegetable and floral world by Hippolytus is specially comparable with the concluding particulars of the springs and floral decoration specified in the adjacent passage of the *De Trinitate*.

Now, while these passages are quite independent, we see the same manner of prolonged enumeration, the same succession of the several terms, the items for the most part identical, and their beneficial uses similarly pointed out, though somewhat variously expressed. And when we remember that both enumerations, beyond the fact that

they are of the works of the Creator, have no bearing on the subject of which the writer treats; on the one hand no special appropriateness to the great doctrine of the Trinity, and on the other to the use of water for our Saviour's baptism beyond its cleansing use, and might both have been omitted without injury to the writer's argument, we see that they are plainly merely rhetorical ornament, and manifestly exhibit the same habit of mind.

It is the gratuitousness of their introduction which distinguishes these descriptions in the present case from other similar enumerations of the works of God which ancient writers were fond of when their object was to deduce the necessity of an all-wise Creator from the order and manifest design exhibited in the world of nature. Very similar, for instance, is the beautiful passage in the Octavius of Minucius Felix, xvii. But there the description forms the essential ground of the argument, and each particular has its proper place as an instance exhibiting the divine wisdom of the Creator. In the cases we have now before us, it is merely rhetorical ornament that is the occasion of their introduction, and it is this that makes them pertinent to the present inquiry.

Near the close of the *Theophany*, Lagarde, p. 44, we have the following addressed to Catechumens: "This is the water which participates in the Spirit, by which man regenerated is quickened, in which also Christ was baptized, in which also the Holy Spirit descended on him in the form of a dove. But this is the Spirit that from the beginning was borne upon the waters, by which the universe was put in motion, by which creation stands and all things are quickened, that wrought in the prophets, that flew down upon Christ. This is the Spirit that was given to the Apostles in form of fiery tongues; this is the Spirit David sought, saying, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me.' Of this also

Gabriel said to the Virgin, 'The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.' By this Spirit Peter uttered that blessed voice, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. By this Spirit the rock of the Church was consolidated. This is the Spirit, the Paraclete sent for thy sake that he might make thee the child of God.'" Now, if we turn to the *De Trinitate*, chap. xxix., we find in describing the offices of the Paraclete, as it were a larger edition, constructed in the same form of concatenation, in which like particulars, like references to Old and New Testaments, like events, and like operations are enumerated, and the several members joined together by like forms. I do not copy it, for it is at least four times the length of the former. But any reader can see for himself that it seems to be the work of the same hand, and to proceed from the same enumerative habit of mind. I shall not extend the comparison farther in this particular, as through the whole the resemblance is patent, but proceed to notice similarities of thought as distinguished from form.

The passage in chapter i., *De Trinitate*, on the creation of man, his possession of freewill and consequent subjection to law, may be compared with the Philosoph. x. 33, where Hippolytus speaks of the creation of man. And here we are at first met by an apparent disagreement of thought. The *De Trinitate*, after describing the creation of the world in the manner already quoted, proceeds thus: "Post quae hominem quoque mundo praeposuit, et quidem ad imaginem Dei factum: cui mentem et rationem indidit et prudentiam ut Deum posset imitari; cujus etsi corporis terrena primordia, caelestis tamen et divini halitus inspirata substantia." Here plainly the reference in the distinction between the 'terrena primordia' and the 'divini halitus' is derived from Gen. ii., while the 'praeposuit' comes from Gen. i., where the dominion and subjugation is, of

course, only in title, but in practice, prospective. Now if we turn to Hippolytus we read thus:—ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ζῶν αὐτεξούσιον ἦν, οὐκ ἄρχον, οὐ νοῦν ἔχον, οὐκ ἐπινοία καὶ ἰξουσία, καὶ δυνάμει πάντων κρατοῦν ἀλλὰ δοῦλον, καὶ πάντα ἔχον τὰ ἐναντία. Here this last word has been misunderstood. It does not mean, as Bunsen and Wordsworth suppose, 'all contrarieties.' The definite article shows that the meaning is 'all the opposites' of the particulars just mentioned. And I think Hippolytus speaks only of the state in which man must have been found at his first coming into existence, γενόμενος, a state quite infantile, little different from a mere animal capable of voluntary action, as yet devoid practically of all exercise of dominion, of all practical good sense, all contrivance by which he might acquire dominion which his bodily strength could not give him. All this was only possible by time and experience, and he seems to mention these particulars to account for the facility with which he fell into evil. For he immediately adds, ὃς τῷ αὐτεξούσιον ὑπάρχειν τὸ κακὸν ἐπιγεννᾷ. The disagreement is, therefore, only apparent. The *De Trinitate* speaks of the faculties and the intended condition of mankind. The *Philosophumena* speaks of the practical state in which man must have been when first brought into existence. In other respects there is a remarkable congruity. Thus the *De Trinitate* says: "He willed him alone to be free, and lest liberty unrestrained should fall back into danger, he imposed a commandment." Then the *Philosophumena* says: "Who being possessed of freedom, a law was prescribed by God, not without reason. For if man was not able to will, and not will, a law would not have been prescribed. For a law will not be prescribed to an irrational animal, but a bridle and a whip." And here the words ἀλόγῳ ζώῳ show that οὐ νοῦν ἔχον above did not mean deficiency of the faculty of understanding. And when the *De Trinitate*

says, "mandatum posuit," it adds, "quo tamen non inesse malum in fructu arboris diceretur, sed futurum, si forte ex voluntate hominis de contemptu datae legis praemoneretur."¹ With this compare Hippolytus in the same place. To the words already quoted, "by being possessed of free will he generates evil," he adds, "not anything accomplished by accident, ἐκ συμβεβηκότος, if you do it not. For by willing and cogitating something evil, evil is so called." Wordsworth has mistaken the meaning of the writer, rendering his words thus: "He, in having free will, generates evil accidentally, but not in any degree taking effect, unless thou doest it." Here he makes the author say that the generation of evil was accidental, whereas the very opposite was intended.

In this first chapter we have a striking coincidence with another work of Hippolytus, namely the *περὶ τοῦ παντός*. "For neither are the regions which lie beneath the earth devoid of arranged and ordered authorities. For there is a place whither the souls of the pious and the impious are brought, futuri iudicii praejudicia sentientes," having a sense of judgments anticipatory of the judgment to come. Then Hippolytus, Lagarde, p. 68 sqq., tells us of Hades, a place "underneath the earth; — over which have been set angels to watch, distributing temporary punishments according to the actions of each." Then there is the lake of fire into which none have yet been cast, "until one sentence shall be pronounced on all according to their deserts, and the unrighteous be further condemned, προσκριθῶσι." This word, 'farther judged,' implies a *πρόκρισις*, or 'praejudicium futuri iudicii.' And further on he tells us, that by the expectation of the judgment to come, they are already virtually punished.

¹ Compare with this Diognetus xii. τῆς γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοῇ of the tree of knowledge, οὐ τὸ ἀναιρεῖ.

Here we have a clear correspondence with the *De Trinitate* in its peculiar phrases.

In *De Trinitate* vi. we read : " What is immortal, whatever it is, that same is one and simple and always. And for this reason that it is one, it cannot be dissolved, since whatever that same is, being put outside the law, 'jus,' of dissolution, is freed from the laws of death." Then in the *Philosophumena*, x. 32, speaking of creation, Hippolytus says: "Some things are of one substance, *μονοούσια*, some of two, some of three, some of four he bound together. And the things of one were immortal, for solution does not attend them. For that which is one, τὸ ἓν, shall never be dissolved, but the things of two, or three, or four are soluble, wherefore they are also called mortal. For this hath death been called, the solution of things that were bound," together he means, of course.

In *De Trinitate* xii. he winds up in this way with reference to the denial of our Lord's divinity, and its opposite extreme of Sabellianism : " Only that whether they will call Him Father or Son, they who are wont to say that Christ is only man must needs fall away from their own heresy, though against their will, while compelled by the very facts they begin to bring Him forward as God, whether they shall wish to call him Father, or shall wish to call him Son." In a like manner of speaking and arguing, Hippolytus, in *Adv. Noet.*, Lagarde, p. 51, having mentioned different heretics, says : " Even against their will they have fallen into this, that they shall confess the One to be the cause of all things ; thus, therefore, even not wishing it, they concur with the truth." This closely similar manner of winding up an argument 'ad hominem' is very significant.

In chapter xvi. the writer of the *De Trinitate* says : " Though I am hastening to other matters, I think this ought not to be passed by." This manner of speaking

occurs several times in this treatise; and the readers of the *Philosophumena* will recognize a like way of speaking by Hippolytus, such as οὐκ ὀκνήσω λέγειν and similar phrases. In the same chapter, speaking of the death and resurrection of our Lord, we read: "Induitur autem et exuitur homo, quasi quadam contexti corporis tunica." So also Hippolytus, *De Christ. et Antichrist.*, Lagarde, p. 3, says: "When the word of God, being without flesh, put on the holy flesh from the holy virgin, he was as a bridegroom, having woven for himself a garment for the suffering of the Cross." The weaving and the garment representing the flesh of Christ are identical in both passages.

In chapter xix., where the deniers of the divinity of Christ are represented as misapplying the words of the Annunciation, "That holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," the writer of the *De Trinitate* meets this in a manner that reminds us of what Döllinger calls a paradox of Hippolytus. "He did not say, as we have just expressed, 'wherefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee,' but he added a conjunction. For he said, 'wherefore *also* that holy thing that shall be born of thee'; that he might show this, that not primarily that holy thing which is born of her, that is this substance of flesh and body, is the Son of God, but consequently, and in the second place; but primarily the Son of God is the Word of God incarnate by that Spirit of which the angel relates: the Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. For that is the genuine Son of God, who is from God Himself, who, while He assumes that holy thing, and annexes to Himself the Son of Man, and lays hold of and transfers to Himself, by his own connexion and associated mixture shows and makes him to be the Son of God, which he was not naturally: so that the origination, *principalitas*, of this name, Son of God, should be in the

Spirit of the Lord which descended and came, that the sequence of the name might be in the Son of God and Man, and consequently he might fittingly become the Son of God, whilst he is not primarily the Son of God. Wherefore, the angel seeing ‘dispositionem istam, et ordinem istunc sacramenti expediens, . . . distinctionem posuit dicendo : propterea *et* quod, etc.’” In connexion with the concluding part of this passage I shall quote the sentence from the tract of Hippolytus, Adv. Noet., which Döllinger gives as expressing what he calls his paradox, οὕτως μυστήριον οἰκονομίας ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ παρθένου ἕνα υἱὸν θεοῦ ἀπεργασάμενος. Here we have μυστήριον to compare with ‘sacramentum,’ οἰκονομία with ‘dispositio,’ and the operation of the Holy Spirit in both. But Döllinger has mentioned another passage in the same work that still more has “the sound of a paradox,” to use his expression. With reference plainly to such an anticipatory announcement as in the second passage, “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,” he says, Lagarde, p. 54: “What Son of His own did God send down through the flesh, but the Word whom He addressed as a Son, because He was afterwards to become one? But He that is called Son assumes the name of loving affection to men. For neither without flesh and by Himself was He a full, τέλειος, Son, although full λόγος, being only begotten; nor could the flesh by itself without the Word exist as such, by reason of having His composition, διὰ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ τῇν σύστασιν ἔχειν, in the Word. Thus, therefore, he was manifested one full Son.” Here, what seems paradoxical is the distinction between the Word, as the Only Begotten, and a Son in the full sense of the term. The question is only as to the propriety of the term ‘Son’ in the strictest sense as one of human affection, while the λόγος is reckoned as being before the Incarnation. But though this distinction is not so explicitly marked

in the *De Trinitate*, the two writings seem to me to proceed from the same point of view, and to indicate the same authorship.

In the *De Trinitate*, chapter xxii., the writer insists on the word *unum*, as distinguished from *unus*, in the text, "I and my Father are one." He says: "In saying 'I and the Father,' he distinguishes his own proper person as Son from the paternal authority, not merely by the sound of the name, but also 'de ordine dispositae potestatis.'" These last words are very unlike what would be used by an independent Latin writer, but seem to be a translation of some such words as we find in Hippolytus, Adv. Noet., in reference to the same text, Lagarde, p. 49: *μὴ πάντες ἐν σῶμα ἔσμεν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῆς ὁμοφρονίας ἐν γινόμεθα*. "In the same way the Son that was sent, and not known by them as being in the world, confessed that He was in the Father *δυνάμει* [*καὶ*] *διαθέσει*." The copulative here is not in the MS., and we might as well read *δυνάμειος διαθέσει*, which would exactly correspond to the Latin words above quoted. But, at any rate, both thought and phraseology are Hippolytean.

If we proceed now to *De Trinitate*, chapter xxiii., we find the following: "Immortalitas divinitati socia. Because, both divinity is immortal, and immortality is the fruit of divinity. Every man, however, is mortal, but immortality cannot exist from the mortal. Therefore, from Christ, as a mortal man, immortality cannot spring. But, He saith, He who shall keep my word, shall not see death for ever. Therefore the word of Christ affords immortality, and through immortality 'praestat divinitatem.'" Now, let us compare with this what we find in the last page of the *Philosophumena*. "*Γέγονας γὰρ θεός*, for whatever things you have suffered being a man, these assign to the fact that you are a man. But whatever things pertain to God, these God hath promised to afford,

παρέχειν, praestare, ὅτε θεοποιηθῇς, having been made immortal." It would not be easy to find two passages in two different works of the same writer, except by direct quotation, in more exact agreement of thought and expression.

The *De Trinitate* devotes chapter xxix. to the Paraclete. It sets out by saying that "the order of reason and authority of the faith admonishes us that we believe also in the Holy Spirit formerly promised to the Church, but bestowed at the fixed opportunities of the times—He is not new in the Gospel nor newly given"; the writer then proceeds to enumerate through the entire chapter a long series of personal operations and acts of a person distinct from the Father and the Son. I have already noted this as a kind of enlarged edition of a passage copied from the *Theophany* of Hippolytus. What strikes one as remarkable is that in a treatise of thirty-one chapters, only one should be devoted to the third person of the Holy Trinity. The same brief treatment, in comparison with the extent of his writings, is also to be found in the case of Hippolytus, while there is the remarkable agreement just mentioned in the places in which there is any extended discourse on the Holy Spirit's operations. The reason seems to be, that as yet there was no distinct heresy touching the Divine Spirit, as there was in regard to the Father and the person of our Lord. If the *De Trinitate*, therefore, represents a work of Hippolytus, it is entirely in the spirit of his other works in regard to this subject. The heretics on either side, whether "confounding the persons," as Noetus and Sabellius, or "dividing the substance," like Artemon, seem to have left the question of the Holy Spirit in abeyance, as with neither party was He attacked as a distinct personality, and it was in attacking on either side the nature of Christ that they sought to

establish their opinions, the nature of the Holy Spirit following their views as a matter of course.

The writer of the *De Trinitate*, having completed his contention against the heretics, begins chapter xxx. by saying: "Et haec quidem de Patre et de Filio et de Spiritu Sancto breviter sint nobis dicta." He now proceeds to discuss an objection equally proceeding from both sides, "ut omnis a fide nostra auferri possit haeretica calumnia." The objection was that the orthodox view destroyed the unity of the Godhead. Of course the words I have quoted might have been used by any orthodox writer. But the word 'calumny' seems to indicate more of a personal reproach, than a mere objection in argument. And though, of course, no great stress can be laid on this point, yet it is not to be forgotten that Hippolytus tells us that in his contentions with Zephyrinus and Callistus, he was himself reproached with being a ditheist. Of the latter, he says, Phil. ix. 11, "He used to miscall us ditheists, violently vomiting out the poison that was secretly hiding itself within him." The contention being mainly in regard to the relation between the Father and the Son, and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit being, in this discussion, left in abeyance, would seem to have occasioned the use of the term 'ditheist,' instead of 'tritheist,' which afterwards came into use. It is in this chapter that we find, I believe, the earliest use of the long afterwards famous comparison of Christ crucified between the two thieves. And the subject of the discussion in this chapter is resumed in the next.

But in the next chapter, xxxi., which forms a kind of peroration to the whole work, *De Trinitate*, we find the writer brought into more distinct connexion with Hippolytus. I shall first pick out the essential points of the *De Trinitate* which explain the writer's view of the relation between the Father and the Word, or Son:—"God the Father, then, is the instituter and creator of all

things.—From whom ‘quando ipse voluit sermo filius natus est,’ which is not taken” (understood) “in the sound of smitten air, or the tone of a voice forced from the internal parts, but is acknowledged in the substance ‘prolatae a Deo virtutis.’ He then, since He was generated by the Father, is always in the Father. But I say *always*, in this way, not that I may prove Him ungenerated, but generated.” In the text itself these sentences and clauses are repeated, but they are extracted literally, only I have used the word ‘generated’ to represent the Latin ‘natus,’ which the writer evidently understood in this sense. We have to remark, on these sentences, that the writer held the doctrine of the generation by an act of will; but while he uses the expression ‘quando voluit,’ he takes care to make it plain that he does not intend any point of time, qualifying the word ‘quando’ by ‘aliqua ratione,’ and ‘quodammodo,’ consistently with being before all time, and ‘semper.’ The phrase ‘ante omne tempus’ plainly represents the Greek *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*. But the distinction between this expression and *συναιδιος* belongs to the discussions of later times. This is plain from his saying that the Son must have been always, else the Father would not have been always Father. But he plainly holds a succession in order, though not in time, and a subordination in authority. For he adds further on, that “the Son does nothing ‘ex arbitrio suo,’ nor acts by his own counsel, nor comes from himself, but obeys all the paternal commands and precepts.”

Now, let us compare with these particulars what we find in the *Philosophumena*, x. 32, where we read, “One God, the first and sole Creator and Lord of all things, had nothing contemporaneous.” This, he explains, is not infinite chaos, etc. And having discussed this as against the ancient philosophy, he resumes in 33 :—“He, therefore, alone, and God over all, first *ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ*, generates

not word as voice, but (λόγος) as the indwelling reason, λογισμός, of everything. Him alone He generated from things existing, ἐξ ὄντων, for the existing, τὸ ὄν, was himself the Father from whom was the cause for things coming into existence, γινομένοις, to be generated. The Word was in Him, bearing the will of Him who begat, not without knowledge of the Father's thought, ἐννοίας, for ἅμα τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν, he hath voice in himself." These sentences closely resemble those of the *De Trinitate*, both in words and in thought. The ἐννόηθεις implies the 'voluit' of the Latin; and that Hippolytus so intended is plain, for farther on, speaking of the human Creation, he says: "For if he willed to make thee a God, he was able; you have the example of the Word." The distinction of the λόγος from the sound of voice is identical in each. And the 'processit ex patre' of the Latin corresponds with the ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν of the Greek. While the "substantia prolatae ex Deo virtutis," and the "substantiae communio" at the close, agree with the words of Hippolytus in the same section, "Out of Him, himself is the Word alone; wherefore also God, being God's substance, οὐσία θεοῦ." We miss, in the *Philosophumena*, the cautious phrases by which the *De Trinitate* avoids the supposition that the generation of the Son was not eternal. Hippolytus was here addressing pagans, and had not in view the questions raised by the heretics with whom the *De Trinitate* was contending. But he simply says: "The Word of God, the first begotten Son of the Father, ἡ πρὸ ἐωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή administers all things." Priority to all creation is as much as he is concerned with insisting on to his pagan readers. But it is hardly fair for Döllinger, *Hip. et Callist.*, p. 210, to say that Hippolytus makes the Son to have been "before time (προαιώνιος), but not eternal (αἰδιος)." Döllinger betrays an inclination to disparage Hippolytus, but the distinction between these

words is an anachronism as applied to an author so long before it came historically into consideration. The absolute manner in which the 'ex voluntate' is expressed in both writings, belongs to the same early period of the controversy. The later Fathers adopted a more cautious and qualified way of speaking on this subject: "nec ex voluntate nec ex necessitate." It was to avoid this latter idea that the former was affirmed at an earlier period, to avoid the supposition of an independent and unoriginated existence as opposed to the monarchic nature of the Father. And if we look to the sequel of what I have quoted from the *De Trinitate*, it is evident that it was to repel the notion of ditheism which Hippolytus tells us his adversaries laid to his charge. In the words above quoted, "ex quo quando ipse voluit, sermo processit," are we to take 'quando' as 'when'? In Hippolytus, where Creation is spoken of, we have *ὅτε ἐθέλησεν*. But he has, in reference to the generation of the λόγος, no indication of time beyond what may be involved in the past participle *ἐννοηθείς*. But this seems to denote precedence in the order of reason and causation rather than of time. In immediate operation all cause and effect are simultaneous. In the Latin words just quoted we have two propositions with different subjects and two active verbs, and I think we would not strain the expression too much, if we took 'quando' in the sense of our 'since,' since the Father himself willed it, the Word proceeded, where 'processit' is equivalent to the *προήλθεν* of Hippolytus. And if Novatian's Latin is, as I think it manifestly is, a translation from Greek, 'quando' would probably represent the Greek *ἐπειδή*. And we shall presently see that he does use the same word in this passage when it must have the meaning of 'since.'

I shall now proceed to show that this phrase, and the meaning intended, was employed with special reference

to the allegation of ditheism. I shall resume, where I left off, giving only the essential words in Latin. "For he that is before all time must be said to have been always in the Father; nor can a time be assigned to him who is before time. For he was always in the Father, lest the Father should not be always a Father. Because the Father also in some way, 'aliqua ratione,' precedes, because it is necessary that he should in some sense, 'quodammodo,' be prior as he is father, 'qua pater sit.' Since, in some manner, 'aliquo pacto,' He who knows no origin must needs antecede him who has origin, at the same time that he is lesser, 'minor,' whilst he knows that he is in Him, having an origin because he is generated, 'nascitur,' and 'per patrem quodammodo,' though he has origin 'qua nascitur, vicinus in nativitate' whilst he is generated, 'nascitur,' out of, 'ex,' that father who alone has not origin." I fancy we should translate "per patrem vicinus in nativitate," by "closely diffused throughout the Father," and that this way of speaking answers to the ἐνδιάθετον of Hippolytus, x. 33. The writer then proceeds: "He therefore 'quando' the Father willed proceeded out of the Father: and he who was in the Father, proceeded out of the Father: and he who was in the Father, because he was from the Father, was subsequently with the Father because he proceeded from the Father, to wit. that divine substance whose name is the Word, by which all things were made and without which nothing was made. For all things are after himself, because they are by himself. And justly he is before all things, since, 'quando,' all things were made by him who proceeded out of Him by whose will all things were made. He is God therefore proceeding out of God, constituting a second person, but not taking away from the Father this, that God is one. For if he had not been generated, 'natus,' being unbegotten, 'innatus,' compared with Him who was unbegotten, an equality

being exhibited in each, he would make two unbegottens: and so he would make two gods if he had not been generated, compared with him who was not generated, and being found equal, not having been generated, they would justly have made two Gods, and in this manner Christ would have made two Gods, if he were without origin, being found as Father, and himself principium of all things as Father, making two 'principia,' would have consequently exhibited to us two gods also." Here the word 'principium' represents the Greek ἀρχή. And, in this last sentence and what immediately follows, the writer turns back the accusation of ditheism upon the Noetians who charged Hippolytus and the orthodox doctrine with ditheism. The whole argument is intended to maintain the monarchical principle, the sole ἀρχή of the Father. And the charge made against Hippolytus personally would have naturally led him into all this minute argument; and so we may see in this something to corroborate the supposition that the *De Trinitate* is really a translation from his work on the same subject. And I have gone into this discussion at length partly to clear Hippolytus from Döllinger's accusation, and partly to show the appropriateness of it to his times. I have translated rudely for the sake of exactness.

The *De Trinitate* begins with the "Regula Veritatis," introducing the faith in one God, the Father, repeats the same phrase when introducing the Second Person, chapter ix., and has it again in chapter xxv. The author evidently has the creed in view, such as it existed in his time, in Hippolytus *κάνων ἀληθείας*. So Irenæus at the close of I. 1 (Feuard., p. 41) has the "Regulam Veritatis—quam per baptismum accipit," where the Baptismal Creed is plainly intended. The phrase used by Tertullian was 'Regula Fidei,' and probably this was the familiar Latin expression. But as Hippolytus was the scholar of

Irenæus and familiar with his writings, from which he extracts largely in the *Philosophumena*, it is not without significance that we find Irenæus's expression in the *De Trinitate*. Novatian himself would probably have said 'Regula Fidei,' which, if not familiar at Rome, he would have known from Tertullian, either directly or through his African coadjutor Novatus. Let us compare the following :—

De Trinitate i., first sentence.

"Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum patrem et Dominum omnipotentem, id est rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, etc."

IRENÆUS, I. xix., at commencement.

"Cum teneamus autem nos Regulam Veritatis, id est, quia sit Unus Deus omnipotens qui omnia condidit, etc."

I shall here add another slight indication that the *De Trinitate* originated with an author of Greek rather than of Latin education. In quoting St. John i. 3, Greek writers as a general rule close the sentence with οὐδὲ ἔτι, joining the ὃ γέγονεν with the sequel. On the other hand, the western writers are wont to join these latter words to the preceding sentence. This text is quoted several times in the *De Trinitate*, but always the ὃ γέγονεν is omitted. But as Tertullian always ends with 'nihil,' we cannot make much of this argument, and the paucity of Latin writers of this early age makes the usage of the time uncertain.

The *De Trinitate* plainly belongs to the same stage of the controversy as carried on by Hippolytus, a stage far earlier than that of Arian times.¹ I think I have shown that it is a translation from a Greek work in a Latin very unlike the spontaneous Latin of Novatian to whom alone there is any ground for attributing it. And we only know of one Greek writer of that time whose work on this subject

¹ Professor Swete has informed authorship, and assigns it to the time of Zephyrinus, that is of Hippolytus that Harnack mentions that in his prime. Hagemann contests the Novatian

was likely to fall into his hands, and which it would be desirable to make available to the Latin speaking people—no doubt the majority of Christians in Rome. And as I have shown copious similarities of style, manner, and thought, with the known writings of Hippolytus, perhaps we may not unreasonably assume that this is a version of his lost work against Artemon, just as we have a version of his *Σύνταγμα* attached to Tertullian's work, "Praescript adv. Haereticos." At any rate I offer this to the judgment of the learned.

J. QUARRY.

IVERON AND OUR LADY OF THE GATE.

WE (§ 1) are told that the work of destroying sacred pictures, in the reign of the iconoclastic Emperor Theophilos, was often carried out by means of fire.¹ We may conjecture, without any express evidence, that, when pictures were torn from the walls of churches situated near the seashore, they were sometimes cast into the sea, as the simplest method of abolishing them. And, if so, they may have been occasionally fished out.²

It was, I have no doubt, from some actual cases of this kind, that the legends of pictures hidden in the waters during the stress of the persecution, and reappearing after many days, came into existence. On Mount Athos there are two famous icons to which this legend is attached. One is the "oyster-picture" (Stridâs) of St. Nicholas at the Stavronikêta. The story is that it was thrown in the sea by the officers of Theophilos, and afterwards drawn up by a fisherman, with an oyster fastened to it. The oyster has been detached and is preserved separately in the church. The other icon, still more renowned, is that of the Mother of God at the Ivêrôn. The Virgin is here invoked under the title of Portaitissa, Our Lady of the Gate, and the miraculous icon is above the entrance of the monastery. The legend of this picture has been preserved in a literary form, and is far more wonderful than that of St. Nicholas. Briefly told, the story is that a widow of Nicæa, threatened

¹ Theophanes Contin., p. 100, ed. B.

² How long could a mosaic picture resist the influence of water ?

by the soldiers of Theophilos who had discovered the icon in her possession, committed it secretly to the waves. Having remained hidden for about a century and a half, the icon made its presence manifest, by a great light on the sea, off the eastern shore of Mount Athos, to the monks of Ivêrôn; and one brother, of eminent sanctity, walked on the waves and brought the picture to the convent, where it performed many miracles. The legend seems to be old, and has come down to us along with the accounts of the foundation of the monastery.

§ 2. The monastery of the Iberians was founded in A.D. 978, after the battle of Pankaleia (March 24),¹ in which the great rebel Bardas Sklêros had been at length vanquished by the united forces of Bardas Phôkas and the Iberian prince of Daïk'h. This prince, David by name, bore the Byzantine title of curopalatês, and, though his direct sovranity was confined to the district of Daïk'h, his influence was so conspicuously predominant in Georgia that he was known as the curopalatês of the Iberians. His timely help—12,000 chosen troops—saved the throne of the young emperors, the sons of Rômanos. It was bought by the cession of some Armenian districts, which the Georgian chronicler describes as "all the upper lands of Greece,"² a cession which made David the most powerful neighbour of the empire on the Armenian side.³ The negotiations which led to the intervention of David were also the cause of the foundation of the Ivêrôn monastery. They were first made known by Brosset,⁴ who used, besides the Annals which he translated, a Georgian work of

¹ G. Schlumberger, "L'épopée byzantine," p. 423. The authority for the date is Yahia.

² Brosset, "Histoire de la Géorgie," i., p. 293.

³ Stephen of Daron (3, 15) who enumerates the districts ceded to David.

Schlumberger, *ibid.*, p. 419. For David's title and position, cp. Brosset, *op. cit.*, *Additions*, p. 176. Matthew of Edessa calls him "curopalatês, prince of the Georgians" (p. 31, ed. Dulaurier).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4.

Timotheus Gabachwili, the *Livre de la Visite*.¹ Brosset also refers to an unpublished Greek document which he describes as a *Life of Euthymios*, and which is preserved in the Synodal Library of Moscow.² But he had also access to another and more important Georgian source, the *Life of Euthymios*, compiled by the cousin of Euthymios, George Mthatsmidel, who succeeded him as hegumenos of Ivêrôn. This *Life* is preserved in a MS. in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. It has also been recently used by M. Schlumberger.³ It is to be regretted that Brosset did not translate literally the relevant parts of this *Life*.

A native of Meskhia, named John, was one of the chief nobles at the court of David, the Curopalatês of Iberia. Sick of the world he withdrew to a monastery of the Thessalian Mount Olympus, where he lived some years; but, weary of the homage which his reputation for sanctity drew upon him, he went to the more remote and inaccessible Mount Athos, to the monastery which Athanasios had recently founded on that solitary promontory. His son Euthymios⁴ was with him, and he was soon joined by his brother-in-law Thornic (John Tornikios), who had been moved by the same impulses of piety and world-weariness. To hide themselves more completely, they withdrew to some distance from the Lavra of Athanasios, and founded a Church of St. John the Evangelist. But their retreat was disturbed.

"At this time," according to the Georgian chronicle, "Scliaros, having revolted against the sovereign of Greece, and being master of all the continental part of the

¹ Timotheus visited Mount Athos in 1755, wrote an account of his visit, and described the life of Euthymios in connexion with his account of Ivêrôn. This account is translated by Brosset, *Additions*, p. 189 sqq.

² N. 436. But see below, § 4. Cp. M. Schlumberger's narrative (*loc. cit.*) in his recent magnificent work.

³ Cp. *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁴ See below, p. 83.

empire, the Emperor [Basil]¹ and the Empress [Theophanô, his mother], shut up in Constantinople, were a prey to cruel anguish. In this state, they thought—‘except the Curopalatês David we have no other helper,’ and they wrote him pressing letters. They sent the Georgian Thornic, who lived on the Holy Mountain in the monastery of the great Athanasios, to David the Curopalatês, that he might succour them.”² Tornikios had been a general of David before he became a monk; and now, yielding to the prayers of the Emperor and Empress, he sped to Iberia, induced the curopalatês to furnish an army, and himself marched at its head against Bardas Sklêros.³ At the victory of Pankaleia the Georgian horsemen were the first to plunder the camp of the tyrant.⁴ “Tornikios, following the Imperial order, pillaged the property of all the Greek lords,⁵ distributed part to the soldiers, and kept the rest. It formed a rich and enormous spoil, in gold, in silver, in precious stuffs, and other things.”⁶ Tornikios returned to Mount Athos, and, in conjunction with Johannes, devoted his rich booty to the foundation of a new monastery, which soon became famous as the *μονὴ τῶν Ἱβήρων*. Imperial liberality, which the *Life of St. Euthymios* ascribes to Theophanô, assisted the pious founders, and the Convent of the Iberians, situated on the sea shore on the eastern side of the promontory, is one of the finest convents of Athos.

¹ Perhaps a confusion with the eunuch Basil, who had, at this time, the chief power at Constantinople; so M. Schlumberger conjectures, p. 418.

² Brosset, p. 293.

³ According to Stephen of Daron, David himself headed the army.

⁴ “Life of St. Euthymios,” ap. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁵ That is, great landed proprietors in Asia Minor.

⁶ “Life of St. Euthymios,” ap. Schlumberger, p. 429. M. Schlumberger observes that it was with part of the booty that John, son of Sula, built the chapel of Zarzma, where M. Brosset found the fine Georgian inscription, to which he refers “Histoire de la Géorgie,” p. 293, n. 2, and which he fully describes in “Voyage archéol. dans la Géorgie et dans l’Arménie” (2^{me} rapport), p. 134.

§ 3. The Greek document, designated by Brosset and Schlumberger (erroneously, as will be shown below) as a *Life of Euthymios*, has not yet been published. In the meantime, I have found, in a MS. of Lincoln College, Oxford,¹ a relation of the events connected with the founding of Ivêrôn, and the legend of the Image that swam over the sea; a relation which is evidently closely connected with that contained in the so-called *Vita Euthymii*.

Cod. 10 of the Lincoln College collection, a MS. of the 14th century, has suffered seriously from the carelessness of its binder. It contains a number of Byzantine texts, but all mixed up together. The binder seems to have first shuffled the leaves, and then sewed them; it is quite a task for the reader to find his way. Coxe seems to have abandoned the problem in despair; the description in his Catalogue gives no help, but rather misleads. In another place, in connexion with the *Paradeisos* of Johannes Geômetrês, I shall have an opportunity of supplying the true order of the pages where the worst confusion prevails.

The text which concerns us now, the Memoir (*ὑπόμνημα*) on the Monastery of the Iberians, is the only dated text in the MS. The subscription on fol. 125 v. informs us that it was finished at Constantinople by Michael Anerêstos in the year 1599, November 19. The work begins on fol. 124 r., and ends 125 v. Turning over two leaves we find that 128 and 129 belong to it. 128 r. joins on to 124 v.; and 129 v. joins on to 125 r. But 128 v. does not join on to 129 r., and there are no other leaves of the same work in this part of the MS. At first I thought they had been lost; but I afterwards discovered that four leaves² had

¹ I must record my gratitude to the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College for their liberality in allowing this MS. to be sent over to Dublin for my use, and in particular to Mr. Munro, the Librarian, for his kindness in the matter.

² M. C. Sathas has edited the *Ἐκθεσις Χρονικῆ* in his *Bibl. Græca med. ævi*, vol. vii. He notices these leaves, p. 606, as *τέσσαρα φύλλα ἔσχατα τῶ εἰρμῶ τῆς διηγήσεως*, but does not identify them.

strayed into the Ἑκθεσις χρονική, which occupies an earlier part of the MS. These four leaves supply the missing middle of the Iberian story. The order of the foll. is :

124 + 128 + 72 + 73 + 74 + 75 + 129 + 125.

Accordingly we have three sources for the foundation of the Ivêrôn, one in Georgian and two in Greek :

- (1.) the Georgian *Life of Euthymios* in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg ;
- (2.) the Greek document in the Moscow Library ;
- (3.) the *Hypomnêma* in the Lincoln College Library, which I now publish.

There is, further, the sketch of the Ivêrôn given by Timotheus Gabachwili, who derived his facts from the monks of the monastery.¹

§ 4. But of these three sources it is highly probable that the two Greek are nearly identical ; for the document which Brosset designated as a *Life of Euthymios* seems not to be a biography of that saint, but a memoir of the same scope as our *Hypomnêma*, and mainly concerned with the Legend of the Portaïtissa. It is contained in a pretty little MS. (MM. Brosset and Schlumberger describe it as “un beau manuscrit”) of the sixteenth century. This MS. is numbered 436 in the Catalogue of the Synodal Library, and 404 in the Catalogue of Vladimir.² The title is :

Διήγησις πάνυ ὡραία περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ σεβασμίας
εἰκόνης τῆς πορταϊτίσης πῶς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος εἰς
τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων.

This title is briefer than that of the *Hypomnêma*, but has a close verbal resemblance. The first clause of the

¹ His narrative has no more value than is attached to oral tradition. He substitutes Theodôra and Michael for Theophanô and Basil. See Brosset, *Additions*, p. 190. I have been unable

to consult the Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία of A. Landos (1641) which contains an account of the legend.

² Pp. 603, *sqq.*

narrative, quoted by Vladimir, bears a similar relation to the first clause of the *Hypomnēma*; it is identical in general meaning, similar in phrase, but more condensed.

Diégēsis.

Εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ εὐσεβε-
στάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου
ἐπληθύνετο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡ εὐσε-
βεία.

Hypomnēma.

Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ εὐσεβε-
στάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως
Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ μεγάλου
καὶ πρώτου ἐν βασιλεῦσι Χριστιανοῖς
ἦνθαι τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν πίστεως
καὶ εἰς πληθυσμὸν καὶ αὔξησιν τὰ
καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγγέγοναι.

It is quite clear from this that the two documents are connected.¹ It is also certain (see below, § 9) that both depend ultimately on a Georgian source. But various hypotheses as to the relation of the *Hypomnēma* to the *Diégēsis* offer themselves. Is the *Diégēsis* the basis of the *Hypomnēma*? or are both, rather, different *Fassungen* of a common source? and was that source Georgian, or a Greek translation of a Georgian original? These questions cannot be answered till the text of the *Diégēsis* is published. It is to be hoped that M. Pomyalovski or some other of the numerous Russian Byzantinists may find time to edit the work. Perhaps we may then discover what induced Brosset to describe it as a *Life of Euthymios*.²

§ 5. The *Hypomnēma* may be divided into the following parts:—

- (1.) An introductory notice of the triumph of Christianity under Constantine the Great, with the suggestion that monks began to settle and build on Mount Athos at that period (§ 1).
- (2.) The tale of St. Peter, and his calling to Athos by the Theotokos (§ 2).

¹ This is confirmed by three words
cited by Brosset; see below, text, § 5,

n. 26, p. 91.

² He has misled M. Schlumberger.

- (3.) How Athanasios built his Lavra; how the Iberian Johannes came to him; and how the same Johannes fetched his son Euthymios from Constantinople (§ 3).
- (4.) How Tornikios came to Athos, and how, at the request of Theophanô, he went to Iberia, and, with troops which the king of that country gave him, won a great victory over the general of the "Persians"; and how, in consequence of these events, the monastery of the Iberians was founded (§§ 4, 5).
- (5.) The story of the image of the Theotokos, at Nicaea, and how it came to the Ivêrôn monastery (§§ 6-10).
- (6.) The miracles wrought by the image (§§ 11-13).

One of these miracles relates to a Moslem attack on Mount Athos, which was connected with an expedition against Constantinople. It is natural to suppose that the occasion meant was the Ottoman conquest in A.D. 1453, for we know that at that time Ivêrôn suffered from the Turks. This would imply that the *Hypomnêma* was not put together before the end of the fifteenth century.

In regard to its authorship, we can say only that it was written by a monk of Ivêrôn. This appears from § 7, *ad fin.* (ἐξηγήσατο γὰρ ἡμῖν).

§ 6. In general this relation agrees closely with the story as told by MM. Brosset and Schlumberger from the *Diégésis*, which they call a *Vita Euthymii*; but the *Diégésis* contains a number of details which are not found in our Memoir. These details are as follows:—

The *Hypomnêma* does not say who St. Peter was, or how long he lived on Mount Athos. The *Diégésis* states

that he had been a "captive in Arabia," and that he lived 60 years on the mountain.¹

The *Hypomnêma* says, merely, that Johannes became a monk ἐν τινι σεμνείῳ, and does not tell in what monasteries he abode before he went to Athos. The *Diêgêsis* relates that he first entered a house of καλόγηροι (which would correspond to the σεμνείον), that he then went to the monastery of the Four Churches of Mount Kulpa (in Macedonia), and then to that of Krania on Mount Olympus.²

The *Hypomnêma* does not hint that any relationship existed between Tornikios and Johannes; the *Diêgêsis* apparently states that they were related. (Timotheus says that they were brothers-in-law.)³

The *Hypomnêma* has not the statement that Tornikios got possession of the spoils of Sklêros, which is found in the *Diêgêsis*. Moreover the *Diêgêsis* describes Sklêros as "chief of a Persian army, which had come to seize Constantinople";⁴ while the *Hypomnêma* implies this, but does not state it so directly.

In regard to the story of the image: (a) the incident of the widow casting it into the sea is placed by the *Hypomnêma* in the reign of Theophilos without any precise date; the *Diêgêsis* places it after the capture of Amorium. (b) The *Diêgêsis* notes that 70 years elapsed between the incident and the arrival of the image at Mount Athos; the *Hypomnêma* more discreetly says (§ 8) τοσούτων ἐτῶν.⁵ (c) The *Diêgêsis* relates that the image, after its first resto-

¹ Brosset, "Hist. de Géorgie," i. p. 303.

² Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 417. Brosset was puzzled by the monastery of the Four Churches.

³ Brosset, *ib.*, 304; "son parent, ou même son beau-frère, suivant Timothée." Cp. *Additions*, p. 176; Schlumberger,

op. cit., p. 418. It would also appear that the *Diêgêsis* has the other name of Tornikios, Johannes (Schlumberger, *ib.*), which is not given in the *Hypomnêma*.

⁴ Brosset, *ib.*

⁵ Brosset, *ib.*; "ramenée dans l'église elle se transporta dans une vigne du voisinage."

ration to the church, transported itself to a vine in the neighbourhood;¹ this incident does not occur in the *Hypomnêma*.

In all these cases the *Diêgêsis* is fuller than the *Hypomnêma*. There is one point, however, in which the *Hypomnêma* appears to be more precise than the *Diêgêsis*. The *Diêgêsis*, apparently, left Brosset in doubt whether the image came to the new Ivêrôn convent or to the Lavra of Athanasios. The *Hypomnêma* is quite clear on this point (cf. § 9, 10).

§ 7. There are one or two marked variations between the Georgian accounts and the *Diêgêsis*. (1) According to the Georgian Lives Johannes was still at the monastery on Mount Olympus when he went to Constantinople to seek his son; according to the *Diêgêsis* he was with St. Athanasios on Mount Athos. (2) According to Timotheus, an imperial "courier" struck the image, which had been discovered in the widow's house, with his sword, and the blood spurted; seeing this the affrighted woman threw it into the sea. According to the *Diêgêsis*, soldiers threatened the widow with death if she did not purchase their silence, and she, obtaining a respite till the morning, cast the image into the sea at night.²

In regard to the second of these discrepancies, the *Hypomnêma* agrees with the *Diêgêsis*. But in regard to

¹ Brosset (Hist. de Géorgie) says that Timotheus leaves this point doubtful, and seems to imply that it was also left doubtful by the *Diêgêsis*. Timotheus says that the image was found in Gabriel's cell. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 191. M. Schlumberger (*op. cit.*, p. 431) says that the son of the widow, to whom the image belonged, saw the image approaching on the waves. He does not say whether this incident comes from the Georgian or from the Greek source; but I presume it comes

from the Georgian, as he tells the rest of the story of the image according to the story of Timotheus, and not according to that of the *Diêgêsis*. In the *Hypomnêma*, as in the *Diêgêsis*, the widow's son goes to Thessalonica and then to Athos, and tells the monks of Ivêrôn the story of his mother and the image; but he is not brought on the scene when the image arrives.

² Brosset, *ib.* Schlumberger, pp. 428 and 431.

the first, the *Hypomnêma* agrees partly with both and wholly with neither. And this brings us to a question of chronology.

Athanasios began the foundation of his Lavra in A.D. 963.¹ The presumption, therefore, is that Johannes, the father of Euthymios, did not arrive at Athos before that year; and there is no reason to reject the statement that he arrived in A.D. 972.² The inference is that he was in the monastery of Olympus and not on Athos when he went to Constantinople to find his son. For Euthymios cannot have been a young boy in A.D. 972, such as he was when he came as a hostage to Constantinople. This is known from a piece of independent evidence, which shows that, before A.D. 978, he had translated into Georgian a commentary on the Apocalypse.³

These considerations at once show that here the *Life* of George Mthatsmidel is of much higher authority than the *Diégésis*, which commits the grave error of bringing down the visit of Johannes to Constantinople to the time of the revolt of Sklêros.

Now it is to be observed that the *Hypomnêma* does not commit this grave error. It leaves the chronology very vague, and only commits the lesser error of placing the visit of Johannes to Constantinople after his arrival on Mount Athos.

The *Diégésis* makes another mistake in placing the foundation of the monastery of Ivêrôn in A.D. 976,⁴ whereas its true date, as we have seen, is A.D. 979, after the defeat of Sklêros.

§ 8. In the legendary part of the story, there is one obvious and glaring violation of chronology. The boy

¹ Schlumberger, "Nicéphore Phocas," p. 319.

² Schlumberger, "L'épopée byzantine," p. 428.

³ The MS., copied "at the time of

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the revolt of Bardas Sklêros," is preserved in the monastery of Chio-Mghwimé, near Tiflis. See Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁴ Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 431, n. 1.

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who saw his mother cast the image into the sea in the reign of Theophilus † A.D. 842 enters the monastery of Ivêrôn (A.D. 879 at earliest and dies there. This incident seems common to all the accounts. In the case of such a legend it is scarcely necessary to seek an explanation of impossible dates, yet there are circumstances connected with the origin of the Ivêrôn which might explain the tradition that one who had seen the persecution of Theophilus had been connected with the past history of the monastery.

The foundation of the Ivêrôn in A.D. 979-80 is assured by a chrysobul of Basil II., dated A.D. 980, which provides for the union of the monks of the Leontias convent at Thessalonica, that of Johannes Kolovos at Hierissos, and that of St. Clement on Mount Athos, in the new convent of Ivêrôn.¹

But, although the formal establishment of the convent belongs to *circa* A.D. 980, there seems to have been some sort of Iberian foundation in existence at an earlier period. For a chrysobul of Constantine VII. respecting property of the convent Ivêrôn is extant, which is dated A.D. 958.² The act of A.D. 980 would then assume the form of a synoikismos of the monks of Johannes Kolovos, St. Clement, and Leontias into the already existing small Iberian convent, which was by this means converted into a large monastery; and in fact Johannes and Tornikios would not strictly have founded, but rather refounded, the Ivêrôn.

It is therefore obvious that, if we wished to save partly the chronology of the legend, we might assume that the widow's son took up his abode, before the end of the ninth century, in the old Ivêrôn, if it existed then, or in the

¹ Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, iii., p. 16, n. xvi. The following documents, xvii-xxi., dating from 982-997, also concern Ivêrôn, where they are preserved. N. cxii,

dated Aug. 1310, a gold bull of Michael Comnenus Palæologus mentions the *Πορτιδρίσσα* (*sic*).

² *Ib.*, p. xv, n. ix.

convent of Johannes Kolovos, of which we hear in A.D. 911,¹ and which might have handed on its traditions to Ivêrôn, in which it was afterwards merged.

In regard to the foundation of the Ivêrôn, we find the following notice in Kedrênos (that is, Skylitzês)² :—

Γεώργιος τε καὶ Βαρασβατζὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀθῶ τὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων μονὴν συστησάμενος, οἱ τοῦ πατρικίου Θευδάτου ἀνεψιοί.

This Varasvatzé (an Iberian name) is not mentioned in our hagiographical documents, but Timotheus says he was a brother of Thornic.³ The easiest interpretation is to suppose that Varasvatzé took part with Tornikios and Johannes in the foundation of A.D. 911. We can then explain the legend which Colonel Leake heard at Ivêrôn, that the convent was founded by four brothers.⁴ There were four related founders: the two brothers Varasvatzé and Tornikios, their brother-in-law Johannes, and his son Euthymios.

§ 9. It would be futile to discuss the relation of the *Hypomnêma* to the *Diêgêsis*, and the relations of both or either to the Georgian *Diêgêsis* of George Mthatsmidel, until the text of the *Diêgêsis* and a translation of the Georgian *Life* have been published. It is certain, indeed, that the two Greek documents were, if not translated partly from the Georgian, at all events founded on Georgian traditions. This is shown by the circumstance that Sklêros appears in the *Hypomnêma* as Σκληάριος (Σκληάρος), in the *Diêgêsis* as "Skluarios,"⁵ and in the *Chronicle* of Georgia as Skliaros. And it should be

¹ *Ib.*, n. iv.

² Vol. ii., p. 488, ed. Bonn; cp. Skylitzês, transl. Gabius, p. 96 b.

³ Cp. Schlumberger (p. 431), who says :—"Il fut le vrai fondateur, vers 1030, du couvent des Ibériens, qui

n'existait jusque-là qu'en petit."

⁴ "Travels in Northern Greece," vol. iii., p. 116.

⁵ Brosset, p. 304. He is called Sguélaros by Matthew of Edessa, tr. Dulaurier, p. 29.

observed that in both documents "Sklearios" is represented as a Saracen ("Persian") general. On the other hand, the names Theophilos, Theophanô, Rômanos appear in their correct forms without any foreign disguise. This is at once explained by the fact that the Greek writer, regarding Sklearios as a Saracen, did not seek a Greek form under the strange name.

§ 10. The *Hypomnêma* is a favourable specimen of Greek hagiographical composition. It is written in simple style, and is comparatively free from the rhetorical verbiage which renders so many of these works repulsive. The tale of the widow of Nicæa and the arrival of the image at Athos carries one along; and it is pleasant to meet the life-like touch of the Greek monks jeering at the Georgian. The work conforms, for the most part, to the rule of the rhythmic ending which has been established by Dr. W. Meyer,¹ though not to the stricter refinement of that rule.² There are a certain number of cases in which it is contravened, but most of these could be remedied by a simple transposition of words. It seems, in fact, to be certain that copyists often transposed words, without changing the sense, but at the expense of the rhythm, into an order which seemed to them more natural. It is

¹ Der accentuierte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom iv bis xvi Jahrhundert, 1891. As Professor Krumpholtz observes (Ein Dithyrambus auf Theophanes, 1897, Separatabdruck aus den Sitzungsberichten der bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., p. 599), neither law (Gesetz) nor rule (Regel) is quite the right word for Meyer's generalization. It is not a law like that which excludes a spondee from the second half of a pentameter, or that which regulates the accent in "political" verses. What Meyer has established is a tendency among all prose writers of the

given period to avoid the proximity or paene-proximity of the two last accents of a clause. The object is not to secure certain rhythms, but to avoid certain rhythms. Some writers were more careful, others less; but in all who took any heed of style, the tendency, often perhaps unconscious, is quite clear.

² The refinement which excludes endings like αἰώνια καὶ ἀφθάρτα, on the ground that a "Neben-accent" would naturally fall on the last syllable of αἰώνια and thereby violate the general rule. Cf. Meyer, *ib.*, p. 11.

not necessary to go through all the cases where this seems to have happened ; the reader can easily see them for himself ; but here are some specimens :—

§ 1, l. 2. ἤνθει τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν πίστεως, read πίστεως ἡμῶν.

§ 1, l. 12. καὶ ἐνεδύοντο τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, read κ. τὸ ἀγγ. ἐνεδύοντο σχῆμα, but the same false ending in § 4, l. 2 is probably a genuine violation.

§ 3, l. 2. ὥκοδόμησε τὴν μεγίστην λαύραν, read τὴν μεγίστην ὥκοδόμησε λαύραν.

§ 3, l. 16. ἐξαιτεῖται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, read τὸν υἱὸν ἐξαιτεῖται αὐτοῦ.

§ 4, l. 12. καὶ μηδεμίαν λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ εὐρίσκουσα, read κ. μ. εὐρ. λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ, or κ. μ. λ. εὐρ. τ. κ.

§ 4, *ad fin.* καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέκοψε, read κατέκοψεν αὐτοῦ.

§ 6, l. 16. τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσέφερε, read προσέφερε τῷ Θεῷ.

§ 6, l. 20. ἡ θεοφιλὴς καὶ σώφρων ἐκείνη χήρα, read χήρα ἐκείνη, or ἐκείνη <ή> χήρα.

[§ 6, l. 32. ὅτι εἰδώλων προσκυνητῆς ὑπάρχεις, might be changed to ὑπάρχεις προσκυνητῆς, but, as it occurs in dialogue, the rule does not apply.]

§ 7, *ad fin.* read τρέψωμεν τὸν λόγον.

§ 9, *ad fin.* read οὐδὲν ἥνουον πλεον.

It may be pointed out here that two corrections of the text in § 12 (l. 25 and l. 46) derive external confirmation from the fact that they restore conformity to the rhythmic ending.

Far the greater number of the exceptions occur at the end of minor periods, not at the end of full periods. There are only about ten instances which resist correction.

Among these occur the common phrases *καθάπερ εἵπομεν*, and *περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλως*. There is one instance where the departure from the rule is very effective: one entered into the church to light the candles, *καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκέϊσε οὐδαμῶς ἦν*. The recurring formula *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (whether nom. or oblique) is a good test of the store set by a writer on the rhythmic ending of the period. Writers who, like the author of the *Hypomnēma*, were looser in this matter would naturally write *τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The more punctilious would write *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*.

Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τοῦ Ἀθῶ καὶ περὶ τῶν κτιστόρων τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ προσκυνητῆς εἰκόνης τῆς θεοτόκου τῆς πορταιτήσης· καὶ ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως καὶ κατὰ τίνα τρόπον εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μονῇ· καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις.

§ 1. Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου¹ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ πρώτου ἐν βασιλεύσει χριστιανοῖς, ἦνθι τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν πίστεως, καὶ εἰς πληθυσμὸν καὶ αὐξήσιν τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀχλὺς πᾶσα κατὰ μικρὸν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξηφανίζετο καὶ παντελεῖ παρεδίδωτο² ἀφανισμῷ, καὶ ἡδαφιοῦντο³ τὰ τούτων μιὰρὰ τεμένη, καὶ ἀνεγείροντο νέοι καὶ ἱεροὶ ναοὶ εἰς δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀρχιερέων καὶ μοναχῶν ἐπληθύνοντο τάγματα καὶ ψκοδόμουν ναοὺς καὶ θυσιαστήρια ἐν τε τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σιναίῳ ὄρει καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥαιθοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἀθῶ καὶ κατὰ πάσας πόλεις καὶ χώρας. καὶ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾷ τοῦτο ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν πλέον καὶ ἀλλόφυλα ἔθνη ψκοδόμουν ναοὺς καὶ θυσιαστήρια, καὶ ἐνεδύοντο τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπίστευον εἰς τὸν Κύριον

¹ ἀειδίδουν.

² παρεδίδωτο.

³ ἡδαφιοῦντο. The future med. ἡδαφι-

οῦμαι led to the formation of the verb

ἡδαφίδω.

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγέννησιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς Κωνσταντίνου οὕτως ἔχει· βούλεται δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι περὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος.

§ 2. Ἐγένετό τις ἀνὴρ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τηρῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἅπασιν, ὃς ἐπεθύμει εὐρεῖν τόπον ἡσυχον καὶ ἥρεμον τοῦ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τινος τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ὁμιλίας καὶ προσευχῆς. καὶ ποτε δεηθέντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ποθουμένου σκοποῦ ὄρᾳ τὴν πανάχραντον θεοτόκον μετὰ τινος ὑπερβαλλούσης αἵγλης [fol. 124 v.] βαστάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. καὶ ἀνοιξάσης⁴ τὸ τίμιον αὐτῆς καὶ ἅγιον στόμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ· “ὦ Πέτρε”· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρί⁵· “ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀγίῳ ὄρει ἔσται ἡ κατοίκησίς σου· ὅπερ εἰς κλῆρον αἰτησαμένη εἵληφα παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ, ὅπως οἱ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀναχωροῦντες συγχύσεων⁶ καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν ὅση δύναμις ἀντεχόμενοι τὴν τε παρούσαν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀμέριμον καὶ ἄλυσον ἔξουσιν. πάντῃ γὰρ ἐπιτερωπῶς ἔχω τούτου τοῦ ὄρους καὶ λίαν μου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπευφραίνεται. καὶ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι μετ’ ὀλίγον πλησθήσεται τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο μοναχῶν ἀπ’ ἄκρου ἕως ἄκρου αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ χάρις μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐκλείψει. καὶ πλατυνῶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νότον καὶ βορρᾶν τοῦ εἰρημένου ὄρους, καὶ κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης. καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν τῆς γῆς περιβόητον θήσω καὶ τῶν διακαρτερούντων ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπερασπιῶ.” διηπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ μεγάλως ὑψοῦσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ θεοτόκῃ, καὶ διὰ τάχους κατέλαβε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθῶ, ἔνθα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον διεπέρασεν. καὶ καταλιπὼν τὰ πρόσκαιρα καὶ φθειρόμενα κατέλαβε τὰ αἰώνια καὶ ἄφθαρτα.

§ 3. Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν χρόνων τινῶν ἦλθε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος· ὃς βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μοναχῶν ψυχοδόμησε τὴν

⁴ Fort., ἀνοιξασα.

⁵ A fuller account of this Peter seems to be given in the Moscow MS.: “Un certain Pétros, captif en Arabie, ayant été délivré de ses fers, vint au Mont Athos, où il vécut 60 ans, dans les pratiques de la plus austère pénitence”; Brosset (“Hist. de la Géorgie,” p. 303), who adds that, in the Menæum, Petr Athonski is mentioned (June 12) as a Greek general, “de qui l’armée fut vaincue en Syrie et qui

fut emmené captif à Samara, sur l’Euphrate.” Miraculously released, by the intervention of St. Nicolas, he went to Rome, whence he returned to live as an eremite in a cave on Mount Athos. His date cannot be more precisely defined than that he preceded Athanasios; he may therefore be conjecturally placed in the first half of the tenth century.

⁶ συγχήσεων.

μεγίστην λαύραν.⁷ ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν πατέρων Ἰωάννης ὁ θεῖος,⁸ τὸ τοῦ θείου καὶ ζωαρχικοῦ πνεύματος καθαρῶ-
 τατον δοχείον, τὸ γένος Ἰβηρ, πλούτου καὶ ἀξιώματος περιττῶς ἔχων· καὶ
 πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεῦσι ἐτύγχανε·⁹ ὃς ὑπεριδὼν πάντα καὶ
 εἰσελθὼν ἐν τινι σεμνεῖ¹⁰ ἀποδύεται τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκείνα ἱμάτια καὶ ἐνδύεται
 τὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῃ τῆς φήμης διαβαινούσης [fol. 128 r.]
 πανταχοῦ περὶ τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον ἔφθασε καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ θείου
 Ἰωάννου, καὶ ἔρχεται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθω ὄρει εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον.¹¹
 εὔρε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὁμοιον. οἱ ἀδελφὰ φρονοῦντες ἡγωνίζοντο
 τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ σωτήριον. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον καιρὸν φέρουσι καὶ τὸν
 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Εὐθύμιον εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν πολλῶν διὰ εἰρηνικὰς καταστά-
 σεως. ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ θεῖος Ἰωάννης εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρχεται
 καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν προσέρχεται τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ
 ἐξαιτεῖται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.¹² ὃν καὶ λαβὼν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν φίλην ἡσυχίαν
 ἔρχεται, ἡγουν εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον. παρ' οὗ καὶ παιδευθεὶς πᾶσαν
 ἰδέαν φιλοσοφίας, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμᾶς λέγω καὶ τῆς ἑξωθεν, ἐγένετο τις ἄλλος
 [tis] Χρυσόστομος, πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμετέραν γραφὴν ἐρμηνεύσας καὶ μεταβα-
 λὼν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων διάλεκτον.¹³

⁷ The Lavra of Athanasios was founded A.D. 963, chiefly on account of the earnest desire of his friend the Emperor Niképhoros Phōkas.

⁸ The wife of John was daughter of an *eristhan* or noble named Abugharb. Cp. Brosset, *ib.*, Schlumberger, p. 417.

⁹ Not a βασιλεὺς, but an influential noble at the court of David of Daik'h. Brosset, *ib.*

¹⁰ The *Diégésis* is, presumably, more explicit: "il alla en Macédoine, entra dans un premier monastère de caloyers [? the σεμνεῖον of our text], puis dans celui des Quatre Églises au mont Koulpa, d'où il passa dans celui de Krania de l'Olympe de Thessalie." Schlumberger, p. 417. So Timotheus (Brosset, *ib.*).

¹¹ I believe that in this sentence the apodosis really begins at ἔφθασε (not at καὶ ἔρχεται), as if ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ φήμη διέβαινε, or τῆς δὲ φ. διαβαινούσης had preceded.

¹² For the mistake in chronology, see

above, p. 81. We must accept the statement of the Georgian *Life* (and Timotheus) that this happened in the reign of Rōmanos Lekapēnos, A.D. 920-944. Rōmanos had made some territorial concessions to David, who sent to Constantinople, as hostages for his good faith, Euthymios, Abugharb (the father-in-law of Johannes), and Abugharb's sons. The interview between Johannes and the Emperor, and the reproaches which Johannes addressed to Abugharb for having allowed Euthymios to be sent as a "hostage," are related in the Georgian *Life* (Brosset, *ib.* p. 293; Schlumberger, p. 428). Are they also given as fully in the *Diégésis*?

¹³ The original ms. of this translation of the Scriptures is preserved at Ivêrôn. It is noted in the Catalogue that the Maccabees are wanting. For his version of a commentary on the Apocalypse, see above, p. 81. It may be noticed that two MSS. curi-

§ 4. Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ὀλίγου καιροῦ παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ μέγας Τορνίκιος, καὶ ἐνεδύσατο καὶ οὗτος τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα¹⁴ ὅστις ὑπῆρχε στρατηγὸς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἰβήρων, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας νίκας καὶ τρόπαια συνεκρότησε κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. τότε δὴ τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἄθεα γένη τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ μαθόντες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων.¹⁵ ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχηγὸς Σκλήαρος τοῦνομα, ἀπηνὴς καὶ ἀπάνθρωπος, ὅστις κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν τὴν ἀνατολὴν πᾶσαν καταδραμὼν ἐκπορθῶν καὶ κατακαίων τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ χώρας, οὐδενὸς τοῦ κωλύοντος ὄντος, ἅτε τῶν παίδων τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ πάντῃ σμικρῶν ὄντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἀντιμαχεσθαι.¹⁶ ταῦτα ὁρῶσα ἡ βασίλισ Θεοφανῶ,¹⁷ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ, σφόδρα περιαλγῆς γέγονε καὶ κατώδυνος, ἅτε τῶν βαρβάρων γειτνιαζόντων καὶ μηδεμίαν λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ εὐρίσκουσα· τοῦτο μόνον εἰς νοῦν βαλομένη, “εἰ μὴ Τορνίκιος, λέγουσα, ὁ ποτὲ στρατιώτης Ἰβήρων πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγένηται, οὐδεμία ἐλπίς σωτηρίας ἔσται ἡμῖν.”¹⁸

ously ascribe the story of Barlaam and Josaphat to this St. Euthymios. See Krumbacher, “Gesch. der byz. Litt.,” ed. 2, p. 887. He succeeded his father Johannes as head of the monastery, and seems to have died in A.D. 1028. He was succeeded by George Mthatsmidel, his cousin and biographer, who must then have been a very old man, as he is mentioned in the Diatypōsis of the Typikon of St. Athanasios, A.D. 969, as a contemporary. The Diatypōsis is published in Ph. Meyer’s “Haupturkunden für die Gesch. der Athosklöster,” 1894 (p. 102, sqq.; cp. p. 118).

¹⁴ If Johannes arrived at Athos in A.D. 972 (Schlumberger, p. 418), the arrival of Johannes Tornikios would fall between A.D. 972 and 978.

¹⁵ The history here is completely wrong. The rebellion of Bardas Sklêros is represented as a Saracen invasion, and Sklêros (whose name is similarly corrupted in the *Diégêsis* and in the Georgian *Chronicle*) as a Saracen general. The foundation for this misrepresentation lies in the circumstance that the rebel had Saracen auxiliaries. Moreover, the movement of Sklêros

was not the effect of the death of Rōmanos II., A.D. 963, but of the death of John Tzimiskēs, A.D. 976.

¹⁶ Basil II., and Constantine VIII.

¹⁷ The prominent part which Theophanō plays in these Georgian documents (including the *Chronicle of Georgia*) is not in accordance with historical fact. The eunuch Basilios conducted the affairs of state at this time, and Theophanō is not mentioned at all by our Greek authorities after her return from exile. It seems probable that her son Basil committed to her the care of dispensing the Imperial bounty for the foundation of the Ivêrôn, and that her special connexion with it led the monks into exaggerating her political importance, and ascribing to her the negotiation with the Iberian sovran. Cp. Schlumberger, pp. 418, n. 3; 430, n. 2.

¹⁸ According to the *Chronicle of Georgia*, the Emperor [Basil] and Empress said: “except the curopalates David, we have no other help,” and they wrote to him pressing letters, and then sent the Georgian Thornic to David. Brosset, p. 293.

[fol. 128 v.] καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποστείλασά τινας¹⁹ τῶν οἰκειωτάτων²⁰ μετὰ γραμμάτων δεητικῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἁθω ἀγίῳ ὄρει ἀνεκαλείτο τὸν Τορνίκιον. τότε τοίνυν οἱ ἀγιώτατοι πατέρες Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἰδόντες τὴν πολλὴν θλίψιν καὶ στενοχωρίαν τῆς βασιλίσσης, θερμῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐδέοντο τοῦ Τορνικίου. ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὅλως ἡνέσχετο, λέγων· “ἐγὼ ἅπαξ ἀπέθανον τῷ κόσμῳ.” ἡ δὲ μακαρία ἐκείνη θυὰς τῶν πατέρων τῆς τε δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενοι,²¹ ἔλεγον· “τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην ἡμεῖς βαστάσωμεν· μόνον ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν.” ὁ δὲ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν κατέλαβε τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀπεβάλλετο τὴν πολλὴν θλίψιν καὶ ἀθυμίαν, καὶ λαβομένη τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτῆς προκαταβάλει (εἰς) τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ, λέγουσα· “ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ τίμιε, τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας ἢ σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι.” ὁ δὲ Τορνίκιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἤψατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆν. καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ βούλημα γνωρίζει τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς στρατὸν συναθροίσας ἀρχηγὸν καθίστησι τὸν Τορνίκιον· καὶ ἀπέστειλε μετὰ ἐφοδίων πολλῶν.²² ὁ δὲ Τορνίκιος ἀπελθὼν²³ κατεδίωξε τὸν ἀσεβέστατον Σκληράριον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέκοψε.²⁴ καὶ πολλοὺς δοριαλώτους λαβὼν ὑπέστρεψε μετὰ νίκης λαμπρᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν πόλεων.

§ 5. Ἡ βασιλίσσα δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα προσυπῆντησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας ὠμολόγουν Θεῷ καὶ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Τορνικίῳ τῷ λυτρωσαμένῳ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρανόμων ἐκείνων ὁρμῆς τε καὶ βουλήσεως. καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι ἡ βασιλίσσα τῷ Τορνικίῳ. ὁ δὲ οὐδόλως ἡνέσχετο λαβεῖν τι, λέγων· “ἐγὼ, ὦ δέσποινα, ἅπερ εἶχον κατέλιπον, [fol. 72 r.] καὶ πῶς πάλιν αἰρήσομεν ἔχειν; πλὴν τούτου ἕνεκα δέομαι τῆς σῆς μεγαλειότητος, ἵνα εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἁθωνος ἁγίου ὄρος

¹⁹ ἀποστείλασα τινὰς.

²⁰ οἰκειωτάτων.

²¹ τε shows that some words have fallen out, probably owing to a homoioteleuton: something like <καὶ πολλὰ δεόμενοι>.

²² According to Kedrēnos (ii., p. 431, ed. Bonn), Bardas Phōkas went into Iberia himself and got an army from David. Kedrēnos describes this army as οὐκ ὀλίγον, the *Chronicle of Georgia* (Brosset, p. 293) gives the number as 12,000 chosen troops.

²³ “La Vie de Saint Euthyme semble dire que Tornig, entre sa mission à

Géorgie et sa campagne à la tête des forces géorgiennes, soit venu à Constantinople présenter aux empereurs les lettres du curopalate.” Schlumberger, p. 420, n. 2.

²⁴ The victory in the plain of Pankaleia (March 24, 979, see above, p. 72) is here characteristically ascribed entirely to Tornikios, and not a word is said of Bardas Phōkas. It is remarkable that nothing is said of the great booty which Tornikios won, according to the *Diégésis*. Cp. Schlumberger, p. 429.

οικοδομήσης μίαν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μοναστήριον, ἵνα τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος ἤγουν οἱ Ἰβηροὶ ἔχουσιν²⁵ ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ παραμυθίαν τῆς ξενιτείας αὐτῶν.” ἡ βασίλισσα δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς καὶ ὑπήκουσε καὶ προσεδέξατο ταῦτα, καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐγχειρίζει τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ χρυσίον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι, πλήθος ἄπειρον, ἐπισκήψασα ἵνα ἐπιμελὲς γένηται τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μὴ εὐρίσκεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ σκευὴ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κατεκόσμησε καὶ ἐλάμπρυνεν, ἐν τε χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, καὶ μετώχια²⁶ καὶ προάστεια καὶ χώρας ὅλας προσεκύρωσε τῇ μονῇ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις· νῦν δὲ καιρὸς διηγήσασθαι περὶ τῆς προσκυνητῆς εἰκόνας τῆς θεοτόκου.

§ 6. Ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολέμιος καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐπίβουλος ὁ πάντως διψῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν, ὁρῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐξανομένην καὶ πληθynoμένην, οὐκ ἔφερεν. οὗτος ὁ κακότεχνος καὶ παμμίαρος διάβολος εὗρε τοῦ μιαροῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ὄργανον τὸν δέιλαιον καὶ ἄθλιον βασιλέα Θεόφιλον· ὃς πολλαῖς καὶ πικραῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ βασάνοις οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κατέβαλεν. καὶ ὑπερορίαις κατεδίκαξε, καὶ πρόσταγμα ἐξέθετο εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ²⁷ ἐξουσίαν, ἵνα τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν καθαιρῶσι καὶ ἀφανίσωσιν. ὁθεν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπέστειλε πανταχοῦ. οἱ καὶ σπουδαίως διήρχοντο μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς προθυμίας, δύο ταῦτα πραγματευόμενοι, ἐνὸς²⁸ μὲν ἵνα τὸ τοῦ ἀσεβεστάτου θέλημα πληρώσωσι, ἐτέρου δὲ ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωσι παρὰ τῶν μὴ πειθομένων αὐτοῖς. ταύτη τοι κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς²⁹ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Νικαίας ἦν τις γυνὴ χήρα εὐλαβὴς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν Κύριον, καὶ σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ μονογενῇ υἱὸν ἔχουσα [fol. 72 v.] καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν μόνον σαλεύουσα τὰς ἐλπίδας. αὕτη ἡ θεοφιλὴς γυνὴ παρακλησιδίον πλησίον τοῦ ἑαυτῆς οἴκου οἰκοδομήσασα ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσέφερε, καὶ ὡς ἄλλη τις Ἄννα ἐγνωρίζετο ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐφαίνετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν πανταχοῦ διερχόμενοι οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται ἐπιμελῶς ἀνηρεύνουν (sic) περὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων, ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ὑπῆρχεν ἡ θεοφιλὴς καὶ σώφρων ἐκείνη χήρα. καὶ περιεργότερον θεασά-

²⁵ ἔχουσιν.

²⁶ Sic pro μετόχια. Here we can observe a close verbal resemblance between our text and that of the Moscow *Diégésis*, which has the words προαστεία (sic ap. Brosset) καὶ μετοχαί. Brosset, p. 304.

²⁷ Legendum ὑπ’ αὐτὸν.

²⁸ The genitive (without ἑνεκα) is re-

markable.

²⁹ “La cinquième année de Théophile, à laquelle se rapporte le fait, répond à l’an 834, ou mieux encore la prise d’Amorium, qui précéda suivant notre auteur [sc. Cod. Mosq.] la découverte de l’image à Nicée eut lieu en 838.” Brosset, p. 304.

μενοι ὀρώσιν ἐκ τινος ὀπῆς τοῦ εἰρημένου εὐκτηρίου ἔσωθεν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Θεὸν, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἐξεικονισμένον. καὶ ταῦτα θεασάμενοι μεγάλως ἐχάρησαν. ἐνόμισαν³⁰ γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβεῖν. καὶ θάπτον ἢ λόγος ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν παρέστησαν ταύτην, λέγοντες· “ὦ γύναι, ἀνάγκη ἐστίν, ἵνα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κελευσθέντα ποιήσωμέν σοι. νῦν δὲ φιланθρώπως κεχρήμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ οὐ θέλωμεν³¹· κακῶσαί σε, διότι σαφῶς γινώσκομεν τὴν τοῦ σοῦ γένους λαμπρότητα. διὸ δὴ συμβουλεύομέν σοι τὰ κρείττονα καὶ σωτηρίας ἐχόμενα. σὺ δὲ ὡς θέλεις τὰ κατὰ σὲ οἰκονόμησον· καὶ ἡ χρήματα δὸς ἡμῖν ἢ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κελευσθέντα ποιούμεν σοι, καὶ τιμωρίαις καὶ κολάσεσι πικραῖς ἀναλώσωμεν τὸ σῶμά σου, ἕως οὗ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδῶς· καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήρυκες ἐσόμεθα ὅτι εἰδῶλον προσκυνητῆς ὑπάρχεις.” ἡ δὲ σώφρων ἐκείνη χήρα τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίνατο· “χρήματα μὲν δώσω ὑμῖν ὅσα καὶ βούλεσθε. πλὴν δεόμεναι τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλειότητος ἵνα μακροθυμήσητε σήμερον, καὶ αὔριον δώσω, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐμὰ χρήματα οὐκ εἰσὶν ὧδε ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ οἴκῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει.” τοῦτων τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. [fol. 73 r.] εἴτα τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαβούσης τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν προσκαλεσαμένη εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ παρακλησιδίον, καὶ τὰ γόνατα κλίνας καὶ χεῖρας καὶ ὄμματα εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄρῃσα ἐφ’ ἱκάνην ὥραν ἠΐξατο, καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχε· καὶ ἐγερθεῖσα καὶ λαβούσα τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ εὐλαβείας αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἔφερον αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ ἀπενίζουσα πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα ἔλεγεν· “ὁ υἱὸς σου, δέσποινα καὶ κυρία τοῦ κόσμου θεοτόκε, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα ἐλευθερώσῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννίδος καὶ ἀνέλαβε σάρκα ἐκ τῶν σῶν τιμίων αἱμάτων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σὺ, ὦ κυρία τοῦ κόσμου, ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἰσχύον ὡς μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἵνα λυτρώσῃς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου πλάνης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παρανόμου βασιλέως ὀργῆς καὶ ψυχοφθόρου ἀπωλείας.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἀφίησιν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης.

§ 7. Ἀλλὰ τίς διηγῆσεται τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, Κύριε; ὦ τοῦ θαύματος· οὐκέτι ὑπτία ἀλλ’ ὀρθία ἐφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τὴν πορείαν κατὰ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ποιοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἐξαίσιον θαῦμα ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ δόξαν ἀνέπεμψε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ πανάγῳ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ. καὶ στραφεῖσα τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν δακρυρροοῦσα ἔλεγε· “τέκνον μου γλυκύτατον, τέκνον μου ποθεινότατον, τέκνον τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλπίδος· ἄρτι γνωσθήσεται ἡ εὐσέβεια ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ πόθος ὃν ἔχομεν³² πρὸς τὸν Θεόν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν

³⁰ ἐνόμησαν.³¹ θέλωμεν.³² ἔχομεν.

εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ τέκνον, γυνὴ τυγχάνω, καὶ ἡ κρυβήσομαι ἢ ἄλλως οἰκονομήσω τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. εἰ δὲ καὶ εὖρωσι καὶ κρατήσωσιν, ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας εἰκόνης. σὺ δὲ, ὦ τέκνον, φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν [fol. 73 v.] καὶ παραμυθία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδιάς, ἀπελθε πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μήπως οἱ ἀνήμεροι ἐκείνοι θῆρες εὐρόντες σε κακώσουσι (sic).'' ταῦτα εἰπούσα καὶ κατασπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, χαίροντες ὁμοῦ καὶ δακρύνοντες· χαίροντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐχωρίσθησαν, δακρύνοντες δὲ ὅτι μήτηρ ἐστερήθη γλυκυτάτης ὕψεως τέκνου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐστερήθη σπλάγχνων τε καὶ στοργῆς. εἶτα ὁ υἱὸς ἀποδρὰς ἐκείθεν ἔρχεται εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην καὶ μικρὸν διατρίψας ἐκεῖ παραγίνεται ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω· ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν σεβασμιάν καὶ βασιλικὴν μονὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων, ἔνθα τὸν μονήρην βίον ὑπενδύς καὶ καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως τὸν παρόντα βίον διαπεράνας πρὸς δὴν ἐπόθει ἐξεδήμησε Χριστόν. τάχα δὲ καὶ θεία τις³³ οἰκονομία ὁ χωρισμὸς ἦν καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὰ ὧδε μετάβασις τοῦ παιδός, ὥστε προαγγεῖλαι τῆς θεομήτορος τὴν ἔλευσιν. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγήσατο ἅπερ εἵπομεν³⁴ περὶ τῆς εἰκόνης. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλις, νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν αὐθις τὸν λόγον τρέψωμεν.

§ 8. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν ἡ θάλασσα τὴν σεβασμιάν εἰκόνα, καθάπερ εἵπομεν. ἀλλ' ὅρα μοι πᾶς ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τῷδε τῷ διηγήματι, πῶς ἐπακολουθεῖ θαῦμα τῷ θαύματι, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ πως λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἡμερῶν Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως τοσούτων ἐτῶν παραδραμόντων, ποῦ ἄρα ἐκρύπτετο ἡ τιμία εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου; οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὐδὲ ἐπίσταται, εἰ μὴ αἰτῇ τε καὶ ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μεγάλα μόνος ἔνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαΐσια, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς, κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους. ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ οὐδεὶς ἀμφιβάλλοι τῶν πιστῶν ὡς τοιαῦτα εἰωθότος τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπανιτέον καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν.

§ 9 [fol. 74 r.]. Ποτὲ καθεζομένων ἁγίων γερόντων ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ ὁμιλούντων περὶ σωτηρίας ψυχῆς θεωροῦσιν ἐξαίφνης μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης, ὡ τοῦ θαύματος, ὥσπερ τινὰ φλόγα πυρὸς· καὶ ἡ φλόξ στυλιδὸν³⁵ ἀνέβαινεν ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο θεασάμενοι οἱ ἅγιοι γέροντες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως καὶ φόβου τὸ κύριε ἐλέησον ἔκραζον. εἶτα συνησθορίσθησαν ἅπαντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς μοναχοὶ εἰς τὴν φαινομένην θεωρίαν, καὶ θαυμάζοντες ἔλεγον, "τί ἂν εἴη³⁶ τὸ ὁρώμενον;" καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τέλος λαβούσης καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀρχῆν, τὸ φαινόμενον ἐκέισε ἴστατο καὶ ἔλαμπεν ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος παρ' ὀλὴν τὴν νύκτα. καὶ τοῦτο

33 θεῖά τις.

34 εἵπωμεν.

35 στυλιδὸν.

36 εἴη.

ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει μοναχοὶ ἐθεώρουν τοῦτο τὸ παράδοξον τεράστιον, καὶ σφόδρα θαυμάζοντες συνηθροίσθησαν εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ἰβήρων. καὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς πορθμῖδια ἔκ τε τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου καὶ ἔκ τῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου³⁷ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐπλησίασαν εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον ὅσον ἀνεγνώρισαν ὅτι εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστὶ. πλὴν δὲ ὅσον ἐκείνοι ἔσπευδον ἐπὶ πλέον, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἐχώρει. καίπερ³⁸ πολλὰ κοπιήσαντες οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνουν.

§ 10. Ὁ δὲ προεστὼς τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων κελεύει κρουσθῆναι τὸ ξύλον τῆς συνάξεως. οὗ γενομένου ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μοναχῶν συνηχθὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ προσευχῆς ἰκέτευον τὸν Θεὸν ἐπινεῦσαι καὶ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, ἵνα ἔχωσιν αὐτὴν παραμυθίαν τῆς ξενιτείας αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέτυχον τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπήκουσε Κύριος τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅπως, ἀκούσατε. Ἦν τις μοναχὸς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς τὸ γένος Ἰβηρ, τὸν τρόπον ἀπλούστατος, τὴν κλήσιν Γαβριήλιος, τὸν ἀναχωρητὴν μετιῶν βίον, [fol. 74 v.] τῷ θεῷ κατὰ μόνας ἀδιαλείπτως προσομιλῶν· ὃς τῷ μὲν τοῦ θέρους καιρῷ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῦ ὄρους ἐκαθέζετο διὰ τὸ ἡσυχον³⁹ τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα εἰς τόπον θερμότερον· τὸ δὲ ἔνδυμα εἶχεν ἐκ τριχῶν, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει βοτανῶν, τὸ δὲ ποτὸν ὕδωρ ἦν. καὶ ἡῤχετο τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν. εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὴν μακαρίαν ἀπλότητα καθὼς καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἦν ἀληθής, ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαυὶδ καὶ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου μελετῶν, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος καὶ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, οὗτός ποτε προσευχόμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἐπινυστάξας ὁρᾷ τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον μετὰ τινος αἵγλης λαμπρᾶς· καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν· “εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐμῆς θελήσεως ἀνάγγειλον τῷ προεστῶτι· βούλομαι γὰρ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐμὸν εἰκόνισμα, ἐπεὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἐλήλυθα. εἰσελθὼν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πεζὸς εἰς τὴν θύλασσαν βάδισον, ἵνα γνῶσι πάντες τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἣν ἔχω εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ὑμῶν.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπούσα ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ

³⁷ The monastery of Vatopedi, situated, like the Lavra of Athanasios and the Ivêrôn, on the east coast of the promontory, was founded in the lifetime of Athanasios, after A.D. 972. The convent of Philotheos was also founded

before the death of Athanasios, and ἐτέρων in the text may include it. It is a couple of miles inland from Ivêrôn.

³⁸ Fort., καὶ καίπερ.

³⁹ ἡσυχον.

ἐγένετο. καὶ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀνακαλύπτει τὰ δραθέντα καὶ ὁ προεστὼς κελεύει κρουσθῆναι τὸ σιδηροῦν. οὐ γενομένου συνήχθησαν πάντες οἱ μοναχοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἄπαντες κηρὺς καὶ λαμπάδας μετὰ θυμιατῶν ἐξέρχονται τοῦ μοναστηρίου μετὰ λιτῆς. καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Ἰβηρας, εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπησαν καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐμπαίζειν αὐτοὺς ἅτε ἀπλάστους ὄντας καὶ ἀπερίττους. φθάσαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἤρξαντο ψάλλειν τὸ παρὸν τροπάριον “μακαρίζομέν σε θεοτόκε παρθένε,” [fol. 75 r.] καὶ ἕτερα τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ παρευθὺς ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς θεοτόκου ἤρξατο ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὅσον ἐνὸς σημείου διίστημα. τότε καὶ ὁ προῤῥήθεις Γαβριήλιος πεζὸς ἐπέβη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατὰ τὸ τῆς θεοτόκου διάταγμα,⁴⁰ καὶ ὀλίγον περιπατήσας εὐθὺς ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς θεοτόκου εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ· ἦν λαβὼν ἤρξατο ψάλλειν μεγαλοφώνως τὸ κύριε ἐλέησον. ὁ δὲ προεστὼς εἰσέδραμε καὶ προυπήντησε τῷ γέροντι καὶ ἅμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις πᾶσι τοῖς μοναχοῖς μέχρις ἡμερῶν τριῶν ποιῶντες ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ὑμνωδίας ἀκαταπαύστους. εἶτα καὶ παρακλησίον ψωδοῦμεν ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὴν θείαν ἱεουργίαν ἐκεῖ ἐπετέλεσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θείαν ἱεουργίαν ἀνέφερον τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰς τὸ ἐνδότερον τοῦ βήματος. καὶ παλιν ἀγρυπνήσαντες⁴¹ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν θείαν ἐκτελέσαντες λειτουργίαν ἀνεχώρησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν μονήν, χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ συνεχόμενοι· χαρᾷ μὲν ὅτι ἡξιώθησαν ἰδεῖν καὶ περιπτύξασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, λύπῃ δὲ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ τὰς ἰδίας μονὰς ταύτην ἔλαβον. τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ ἐπιστάντος ἵνα τὰς ἐωθινὰς ὑμνωδίας ποιήσωσιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὁ τοῦτου τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἔχων ἵνα τὰς κανδύλας εὐτρεπίσῃ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίαν. καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκεῖσε οὐδαμῶς ἦν. εἶτα πανταχοῦ ἀνερευνήσαντές εὗρον αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ μοναστηρίου εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ κάστρου, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν φέρουσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐνθα καὶ πρότερον ἴστατο. καὶ πάλιν τὰ ὅμοια ἐποίει, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅθεν καὶ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνέβαλλεν πάντας τοὺς μοναχοὺς. [fol. 75 v.] ἡ δὲ παναγία θεοτόκος καὶ αὖθις φαίνεται τῷ προρρηθέντι μοναχῷ Γαβριηλίσῳ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· “εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ εἰπὲ τῷ προεστῶτι ἵνα παύσῃται τοῦ πειράζειν με· καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς καὶ βεβαίως γνώτωσαν ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον

⁴⁰ According to the account of Timotheus Gabachwilli, Gabriel went first in a boat and then walked on the waves. Timotheus also knew the day on which

the miracle occurred. C'était un mardi de Pâques. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 191.

⁴¹ ἀγρυπνήσαντες.

ἵνα φύλακες ἔσεσθέ μοι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐγὼ μᾶλλον φύλαξ καὶ φρουρὸς ἔσομαι ὑμῶν. οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα ἐγὼ ἔσομαι βοηθὸς καὶ φύλαξ ὑμῶν. καὶ ὅσοι μοναχοὶ ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ θεοῦ πολιτεύσονται καὶ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν ἀρετῆς μὴ ἀμελῶσι καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν δέξονται, θαρσείτωσαν καὶ μηδαμῶς φοβηθήτωσαν⁴² κόλασιν, τοῦτο γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ αἰτησαμένη εἰληφα, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον διδῶμι ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς διαδεξιμένοις ὑμῶν· ἐφ' ὅσον ὁρᾶτε τὴν ἐμὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ὑμῶν, ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἀφ' ὑμῶν." ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἀκηλικώτατος καὶ θεόφορος πατὴρ Γαβριήλιος σπουδαίως εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ ἀνακαλύπτει τῷ προσεστώτι ταῦτα. καὶ ὅς ὅλος χαρᾶς ἔμπλεος γίνεται, καὶ συναθροίζει πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδελφότητα καὶ κελεύει κλεισθῆναι τὴν πύλην τῆς μονῆς καὶ εὐκτήριον οἶκον ἀνεγείραι ἐν τῇ πύλῃ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῆς πορταῖτήσης, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἀνοιχθῆναι εἰσοδὸν τῆς μονῆς· ὅπερ ὁρᾶται μέχρι σήμερον εἰς πίστιν βεβαίαν καὶ ἀψευδὲς μαρτύριον εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα.

§ 11. Ἐκτοτε οὖν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ καθ' ἐκάστην γινόμενα ἄπειρα θαύματα, δαιμονίωντας ἰωμένους, χωλοὺς περιπατοῦντας, ἱτυφλοὺς τὸ βλέπειν χαρίζομένους⁴³ καὶ παντοίαν ἄλλην νόσον θεραπευομένους. καὶ ἦν χαρὰ μεγάλη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις ἐν τῷ ὄρει παντὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ· ἄξιον δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν θαυμάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐνὸς ἡ δύο καὶ οὕτω καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον.

§ 12. Ποτὲ τὰ Περσῶν ἄθεα γένη ἐκστρατεύσαντες κατ' αὐτῆς δηλαδὴ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων διὰ τε ξηρᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης πληθὸς ἀναρίθμητον, καὶ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀμοιρᾶς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζόμενος, [fol. 129 r.] μαθὼν ὅτι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἁθω ὄρους εἰς πλεῖστα μοναστήρια, πλοῖα πεντεκαίδεκα λαβὼν ἔρχεται.⁴⁴ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων μονῇ εἰσβάλει (sic) πρῶτον, καὶ ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰσεπηδήσαν ὥσπερ τινὲς θῆρες

⁴² φοβητῶσαν.

⁴³ Corrupt. Fort. χαρίζομενον *passive*.

⁴⁴ The monks of Athos often suffered from the attacks of Moslem pirates. Thus one of the earliest foundations of the Holy Mountain, the convent of Xeropotamu (its first name was Cheimarru), was utterly ruined ὥστε μηδὲ ὁμοίωμα τείχους φαίνεσθαι, in the first quarter of the tenth century, by the Saracens, and was restored by Rōmanos Lekapēnos, whose Golden

Bull of A.D. 924, concerning the restoration, is preserved. The text will be found in Zachariä von L., *Jus Graecoromanum*, iii., pp. xxvii, *sqq.* In A.D. 1345 four monks of Athos were ransomed from pirates (*ib.*, p. xxii, n. cxli). The Ivērōn, as well as other monasteries, suffered at the time of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, to which episode, doubtless, the text refers.

ἄγριοι καὶ ἀνήμεροι καὶ περιεκύκλωσαν αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ μοναχοὶ ἰδόντες τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὴν ἄτακτον αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ σκεύη καὶ τὴν πάνσεπτον εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν πύργον ὃ σκευοφυλάκιον ὀνομάζεται, καὶ κατησφάλισαν ἑαυτοὺς ἔσωθεν τοῦ πύργου. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μὴ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἀντιμαχρησομένους μηχανὴν τινα ποιήσαντες εἰσῆλθον ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος ἀλλὰ τίς διηγῆσεται ἡ γραφὴ παραδοῦναι (sic)⁴⁵ τὰς παρανομίας καὶ τὰς κακώσεις ἃς ἐποίησαν τότε οἱ ἄθροιοι ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὴν μονήν; τοῦτο δὲ μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀρκεῖ, ὅτι παντελεῖ ἀφανισμῷ παρέδωκαν αὐτήν. ἔτα καὶ τὰ σχοινία τῶν πλοίων λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς κίονας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δῆσαντες ἔσυρον βιαίως μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ ἵνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ρίξωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσχυσαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. οἱ δὲ μοναχοὶ ὁρῶντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπάβοντο (sic) ἄδοντες τὰ προφητικά ἐκεῖνα ῥήματα “ἵνατί ὑπνοῖς, κύριε, ἀνάστηθι καὶ μὴ ἀπόσῃ εἰς τέλος ὁ θεός. ἤλθοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἐμίαναν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου. ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοὶ σου, κύριε. βοήθησον ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὀνόματός σου,” καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἀρμόδια. καὶ δάκρυα θερμὰ τὴν γῆν ἔβρεχον χέοντες,⁴⁶ καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου ὑψοῦντες ἐδείκνυν, καὶ ἀκλινῶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνορῶντες ἔλεγον· “ὦ δέσποινα θεοτόκε, τοιαύτας ἡμῖν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐποίησας; ἀλλὰ μὴ παραδώῃς (sic) ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος διὰ τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ σοῦ. μὴ ποτε εἴπωσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν, ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν”; ὁμως ἡ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ ταχίστη [fol. 129 v.] τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων αὐτήν <καὶ> δξύτατή βοήθεια, ἡ ἄχραντος θεοτόκος, ἡ προπολεμουσα τῆς ἰδίας μονῆς, ἄρα παρῆιδε τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν; ἢ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐψεύσατο; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ εἰς γῆν κατέρβραξεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀφανισμῷ παντελεῖ παρέδωκεν, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ λόγος δηλώσει. ἀλλὰ τίς λαλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ τότε θαυμάσια; τίς δὲ τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐσπλαγχνίαν; ἥδη γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαβούσης ἀθρόως ἐξαίσιον καὶ βίαιον (sic) καταγιγίδα πνεύματος κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγείρασα καὶ ἄρδην ποντώσασα ἔργον θαλαττίων ρευμάτων τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῖα ἐποίησεν εἰ μὴ ἐνὸς μόνου ἐναπομείναντος εἰς ὃ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἔτερον θαῦμα. τῆς ἡμέρας τοινυν

⁴⁵ Fortasse legendum τίς διηγῆσασθαι
δυνήσεται ἡ γραφὴ παραδοῦναι.

⁴⁶ ἔβρεχον χέοντες scripsi, βρέχοντες
cod. The correction, necessary to the

sense, gains some external support from
the circumstance that it restores the
rhythmic ending.

διαλαμψάσης ὁρώσιν οἱ μοναχοὶ σωρηδὸν⁴⁷ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων σώματα ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἄπασαν τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀποσκευήν. τότε δὴ ὁ τούτων ναύαρχος ἤγουν ὁ ἄμοιρᾶς ἰδὼν τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπώλειαν, χερσὶ τύπτων τὰς ὀψεις, ἐπάσσατο κόνιν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀμέτρου λύπης μικροῦ δὴ καὶ τὰς φρένας ἀπόλλυσι. καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν προσπίπτει τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ γίνεται ἰκέτης⁴⁸ εὐγνώμων καὶ ταπεινὰ φθέγγεται ὁ πρῶν θῆρ <μᾶλλον>⁴⁹ ἢ ἄνθρωπος. εἶτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτοῦς· “δεήθητε δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα μὴ κἀγὼ ἀπόλωμαι⁵⁰ ὥσπερ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα.” καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς πλήθος ἄπειρον, εἰπὼν· “ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα λαβόντες ἀνοικοδομήσατε τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑμῶν εἰς ὕψος, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ἐχθροὶ τινες ἐλθόντες κακοποιήσωσιν ὑμᾶς.” οἱ δὲ μοναχοὶ λαβόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀνωκοδόμησαν⁵¹ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς ὕψος, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον φαίνεται. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀλύπως διεσώσατο τὴν ἑαυτῶν μονὴν ἢ πανάχραντος θεοτόκος.

§ 13 [fol. 125 r.]. Ἄλλοτε δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκλιπόντος τῇ μονῇ ἐν μεγάλῃ στενοχωρίᾳ καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ ὁ προεστὼς ἦν. ἡ δὲ παναγία θεοτόκος φαίνεται αὐτῷ καθ’ ὕπνου καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν· “τί περιλυπος εἶ; ὕπαγε καὶ θέασαι τὴν τοῦ ἀλεύρου δοχὴν οὖσαν πεπληρωμένην, ἵνα γνῶς τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν⁵² ἣν ἔχω πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν μονήν.” ὁ δὲ προεστὼς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀλεύρου δοχὴν καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν πεπληρωμένην συνεκαλέσατο καὶ τὴν ἀδελφότητα πᾶσαν ἐκεῖ. καὶ θαυμάσαντες μεγάλως ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν πανάχραντον θεοτόκον. ἄλλοτε δὲ πάλιν τοῦ οἴνου ὑστερήσαντος ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος ἐπλήρωσε τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δοχὴν, ὥστε ὑπερκεχύσθαι τὸν οἶνον, καὶ ἄλλοτε πάλιν τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ποιούσα ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία εὐεργεσίας καὶ θαύματα, ἃ ἐποίησε καὶ ποιεῖ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτῃ διὰ τῆς σεβασμίας εἰκόνης αὐτῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν οἶδαμεν, τὰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦμεν, διὰ τὸ ἐπικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλομεν ἀεὶ τῇ θεοτόκῃ εὐχαριστεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀσθενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας νωθρὸν ἀποκνεῖν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπίπονον, κἂν βραχέα μετερχώμεθα, φέρε διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων τὴν εὐχαριστείαν προσοίσωμεν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ὑψώσαντες οὖν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰς φρένας μετεωρήσαντες οὕτω βοήσωμεν· “σὺ μὲν, ὦ δέσποινα θεοτόκε, ὡς τὸ

⁴⁷ σωρηδὸν.

⁴⁸ ἰκέτης scripsi, οἰκέτης cod.

⁵¹ I have not hesitated to insert

μᾶλλον, as it restores the rhythmic ending.

⁵⁰ ἀπόλωμαι.

⁵² κηδεμονίαν.

φιλόανθρωπον ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα, οὐ διέλειπες προνοουμένη ἡμῶν, καθάπερ μήτηρ φιλόπαις ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλόστοργος διασώζουσα φυλάττουσα περιέπουσα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ἀνακηρύττομεν τὰς χάριτας, οὐ κρύπτομεν τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ᾄδομεν μεγαλοφώνως τὰ σὰ θαυμάσια, τὴν κηδεμονίαν⁶³ δοξάζομεν, [fol. 125 v.] τὴν πρόνοιαν μεγαλύνομεν, τὴν εὖσπλαγχνίαν δοξολογοῦμεν, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παρελθοῦσι μεμνημένοι τῶν σῶν μεγίστων δωρεῶν καὶ ἐξ ὧν κινδύνων ἐρρύσθημεν διὰ σοῦ, ταύτην σοι τὴν εὐχαριστείαν ὡς χρέος προσφέρομεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐνεστῶσι καὶ λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν σὴν ὀξυτάτην βοήθειαν, δεόμεθα τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήψεως οἶκτον λαβεῖν τῆς σῆς ποιήνης καὶ κληρονομίας. στήθι πρέσβυς ἀκοίμητος πρὸς τὸν σὸν υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ βοήθησον ἡμῖν τὰ ἔσχατα κινδυνεύουσιν, ἐξελεσθαι ἡμᾶς συμφορᾶς ἀδοκίτου. ὁρᾶς, ὦ δέσποινα, εἰς ὅσον κακὸν περιεπέσαμεν. ἀνάστηθι οὖν καὶ μὴ ἀπόσῃ εἰς τέλος· ἵνατὶ ἀποστρέφῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν. διάλυσον τοὺς ἐπικειμένους φόβους καὶ τρόμους. παῦσον τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς μάχας, κόπασον τὴν κινήθεισαν ὀργὴν καὶ θραῦσιν, καταπράννον τὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς, καὶ εἰρήνην σταθερὰν βράβευσον τῶν δούλων σου."

§ 14. Ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἰστία τοῦ λόγου χαλάσαντες εἰς τὸν ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ σιωπᾶν καταντήσωμεν λιμένα. τοῦτο δὲ αὖθις ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί· μὴ ἀμνήμονες γενώμεθα περὶ τὴν εὐεργέτιν καὶ προστάτιν ἡμῶν, κἂν οὐ δυνάμεθα (sic) διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὴν εὐχαριστείαν προσφέρειν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὖν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων μὴ ὀκνήσωμεν. καὶ γὰρ πάλιν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ κέρδος ἐπάνεισιν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐχάριστοι γενώμεθα, πολλὴν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τὴν παρηρσίαν εὐρήσωμεν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν χάριτι καὶ φιланθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι δόξα κράτος τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Ἐτελειώθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διὰ χειρὸς Μιχαήλ

Ἀνερήστου ἐν ἔτει α φ ς θ νοεμβρίῳ ιθ'.

⁶³ κηδεμονίαν.



ARISTOPHANES, *PAX*, 741-747.

τοὺς δ' Ἡρακλέας τοὺς μάττοντας καὶ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐκείνους,
 τοὺς φεύγοντας κᾶσπατῶντας καὶ τυπτομένους ἐπίτηδες,
 ἐξήλασ' ἀτιμώσας πρωτός· καὶ τοὺς δούλους παρέλυσεν,
 οὓς ἐξῆγον κλάοντας αἰεὶ καὶ τούτους εἶνεκα τουδί,
 ἵν' ὁ σύνδουλος σκώψας αὐτοῦ τὰς πληγὰς εἴτ' ἀνέροιτο
 “ὦ κακόδαιμον, τί τὸ δέρμ' ἔπαθες; μῶν ὑστριχίς εἰσέβαλὲν σοι
 ἐς τὰς πλευρὰς πολλῇ στρατιᾷ κἀδενδροτόμησε τὸ νῶτον;”

SO runs the passage in which the Chorus in the *Peace* recount the improvements introduced into Comedy by Aristophanes. But modern editors invariably transpose vv. 742 and 743. Wrongly, as I think. As it seems to me, καὶ τούτους cannot possibly have the same meaning as καὶ ταῦτα unless connected with an adjective or participle, as in 1278, *Eg.* 189, *Ecc.* 594, *Pl.* 546, *Ran.* 704, *Fr.* 423. When followed by a final clause, as here, καὶ τούτους can only mean “these too.” Accordingly, the verse in which καὶ τούτους stands must predicate something of the slaves which has already been predicated of Heracles. Now, in the text, as it reads with the transposition, Heracles is alluded to only as “Heracles kneading dough” and “Heracles sharpset.” But if we preserve the order of verses given by all the MSS., we have three more participles agreeing with τοὺς Ἡρακλέας, and one of those, when emended by a slight alteration, gives us the required word. If for φεύγοντας, which is quite unsuitable to Heracles, we read φεύζοντας (“wailing,” “crying φεῦ”), a rare word, and therefore more likely to be corrupted into one so common as φεύγοντας, we shall have a word which goes well with τυπτομένους, and which fully justifies

κλάοντας—the *slaves too*, like Heracles, being represented as bewailing the rough treatment which they are receiving, so that their fellow-slaves may have a chance of letting off some of the traditional jokes. We have Heracles roasting fowl in *Aves*, 1689; the scholiast on this passage quotes some lines from Cratinus complaining of the perpetual recurrence on the stage of a famished Heracles; and a scene in the *Ranae*, 570 ff., represents Heracles as bilking certain innkeepers, and expresses their desire to inflict on him the severest bodily injuries. The passage may be roughly rendered thus:—

He banish'd that "Heracles making his cake"
 —'Tis our gallant Poet's boast—
 With his craving stomach, his *Oh's* and his *Ah's*,
 And his cozenings of "mine Host,"
 Who was constantly getting a drubbing of course,
 Just to make a bit fun.
 Our Poet, too, first sent packing at once
 Those stage-slaves every one
 That, like Heracles, came on the stage in tears,
 For no possible reason, I wis,
 But to give their fellow-slaves the cue
 For some time-honour'd joke like this:
 "What punishment 's come on your hide, my old chum?
 On your wretched ribs, alack!
 Has the whip-lash made in force a raid,
 And disforested your back?"

It is admitted that *φεύγοντας* would be quite unsuitable to Heracles, and this is held to be a reason for the transposition of the two verses. But it has not been observed that the word is equally, or more, unfit to be applied to slaves, in whose case the poet would certainly have used the word *ἀποδράντας*.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

SPECIMENS OF A TRANSLATION OF THE
FOURTH BOOK OF THE *ÆNEID*.

I.

BUT Dido ere he ceased sore smitten burns
With hidden fire, and feeds in every vein
The wound of passion; now full force returns
The valiant spirit, the heroic strain;
Fixed in her heart the looks, the words, remain;
The pang pursues her to her quiet bed:
And, when the world was lighted up again,
And from the Dawn the dewy shadows fled,
In a fond sister's ears she poured her pain and said:

“O sister Anna, what a night I spent!
How often from a troubled dream I start!
Who is this guest so strangely hither sent?
What mien is his, what stature, what brave heart
'Tis easy faith and certain Gods have part
In him: the dastard's is the low-born line.
Ah man of many sorrows that thou art,
What tale of war's worst fears outfaced was thine!
How had it moved a soul less firmly fixed than mine!

“Were it not settled in a soul bereaved
No lure to wedded union should avail,
Once first love played me false and death deceived,
Were I not sick of passion's throbbing tale,
Here, here, perhaps it was I could be frail.
Yes, Anna; since the wretched fate was known
Of lost Sychæus, since the household—pale
Pollute with brother's blood, this man alone
Impulse of soul and sense once more has made me own.

"I recognise the ancient flame revive.
But first engulf me may the yawning ground,
Or come the Almighty's thunder-bolt and drive
To Hell's pale shadows down, to Night's profound,
Ere Shame be outraged and her ties unbound.
He, he, who made me his, a virgin bride,
Has caught my heart away : there be it found
Ever with him and in his grave abide."
But here tears choke her voice ; she may not check the tide.

"O dearer to a sister than her life,
Must you alone a pining widow be,
For doating mother and delighted wife ?"
Anna replies :—"Must all your youth so flee,
Perpetual mourning ? Think you jealousy
Surviving in the dust, beyond the pyre ?
I know no suitors moved your misery,
In Libya yet, or there before in Tyre :
Vainly Iarbas might and many a prince aspire.

"True warrior sons of warlike Libya these ;
But all such suit the widow's pride disdains.
Now with a passion that had power to please
Shall you still strive ? And think too in whose plains
You are intruder. Wild here without reins
Numidians riding gird you, and that strand,
The treacherous Syrtes ; here upon you gains
Gætulia, the unconquerable land ;
Here fierce Barcæans roam the thirsty desert sand.

"Why tell of Tyre, the wars that gather there,
The threatening brother ? I—convinced I feel,
With Gods auspicious and by Juno's care
Hither the winds have carried Trojan keel.
What a city, what a realm, does hope reveal,
Sister, from such a marriage ! To what height
Of glory, helping us the Trojan steel,

May Carthage rise ! Yours only to invite
The present Gods to bless, with every sacred rite.

“ The while, give loose to hospitality,
And cunning causes for delaying frame,
While storms and rainy stars disturb the sea ;
Till ships be mended and the skies be tame.”
Thus in the burning heart was fanned the flame ;
Hope and desire bid doubt and scruple fly,
And freed her spirit from the bonds of Shame.
They seek the shrines and at each altar cry
For help, and duly there the unblemished victims die.

For Phœbus these ; for Ceres, fount of law ;
For Father Bacchus ; and for Juno more,
Who bids us hold the marriage-bond in awe.
Fair Dido’s self will bear the cup and pour
The wine a milk-white heifer’s forehead o’er ;
Or by the fat-fed altars solemn pace
Before the Gods, and every day adore
With offerings ever new ; and pry to trace
In victim’s open breast—speak quivering vitals grace ?

Ah souls of seers, poor your utmost skill !
Ah vows and shrines, how help ye her unrest ?
The flame eats to the very marrow still ;
The silent wound is raw within her breast.
Unhappy Dido burning and distress
Thro’ the whole city roams : even as a doe
Pierced with a shaft by unseen hand addrest
From the thick forest : he who dealt the blow,
How sped the winged shaft unwitting, left it so.

Thro’ woods and glades the bleeding creatures speeds,
The deadly arrow never from its side.
Now thro’ the busy city Dido leads
Æneas with her : Tyrian pomp and pride
She points him : what a home she can provide :

Begins to speak and stammers and is mute :
Now seeks she, often as the daylight died,
The feast repeated, and again makes suit—
Ah folly !—for the tale where passion first took root.

Then, when they part, and moonlight too grows dim,
And setting stars say—turn to sleep again,
Lone in the empty hall she misses him,
And lays her on the couch where he has lain.
In distance present seems he to remain
To distant eye and ear. Or fondles she
Ascanius to her bosom, and would fain
So cheat her awful love, if it might be :
The father's image there to her is witchery.

II.

Now rose Aurora from her ocean bed.
Forth with the day the chosen many goes ;
The meshy nets, the hunting-spear's broad head,
The eager horseman and the hound's keen nose.
Not yet do Dido's chamber doors unclose ;
Her highest chiefs are waiting duty-bound :
How gaily, decked with gold and purple, shows
Her hunter, as he proudly paws the ground,
Or champs the foaming bit and flings the flakes around.

At length she issues forth, escorted fair,
In Tyrian cloak with brodered border drest,
A golden quiver, gold to bind her hair,
And golden brooch to catch her purple vest.
The Trojan train too, and with merry zest
Iulus riding on. Himself the flower
That has no peer, Æneas joins the rest.
As when Apollo quits his winter bower
In Lycia for the Isle that saw his natal hour :

The choirs renewed : around the altar stalks
 Cretan, Dryopian, with a frantic din,
 And painted Agathyrsian. There He walks
 The heights of Cynthus, flowing hair kept in
 With a soft leafy wreath and golden pin :
 The quiver chiming true to every pace.
 Such easy grace the Trojan's motions win,
 Such glory shining in that splendid face :
 As to the mountains on they press to rouse the chase.

There the wild goats driven from the mountain height
 Came running down the slopes ; there, fleet as wind,
 Scurrying the open plain and in their flight
 Still keeping close array troop stag and hind ;
 The way they go with mounting dust is lined.
 But young Ascanius thro' the valleys tore,
 His wild horse leaving these and those behind :
 Ah ! how he longs to find a foaming boar,
 For these poor timid things, or face a lion's roar !

Meantime a mighty turmoil fills the sky,
 And following fast a furious storm and hail.
 The Tyrians and the Trojans scattering fly,
 And the young Prince, and seek what may avail
 For shelter to their heads in such a gale :
 Run flooded rivers down the mountain's side.
 Nor did Queen Dido nor Æneas fail
 To find the fated grotto. There preside
 Juno and Ancient Earth, to seal them spouse and bride.

Fires flash in heaven : consenting heaven so be
 To the consummate union witness made !
 Hark on the hills the Nymphs shout merrily !
 And yet that day the first the train was laid
 To death and ruin. For no more afraid

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE 'ÆNEID.' 107

Of eye or ear is Dido now ; no thought
Of furtive amour ; but the holy aid
Of wedlock's name shall glorify the fault :
The while through Libya's realms the evil tale was brought.

Yes, to such speedy message Fame was fired,
Fame, she the speediest Mischief mortal knows ;
Whose every motion makes her more untired,
And strength increases every step she goes.
Small first for fear, high soon to heaven she grows,
And strides the ground, the clouds about her head.
Her, Mother Earth—or so the story shows—
Hating the Gods for her grim Giants dead,
Produced, their sister true, the last and worst she bred.

What rapid foot, and what unwearied wing !
Dread Monster huge : where all those plumes appear,
Lurks watchful eye beneath—a wondrous thing—
And tongue and mouth to speak, and listening ear.
By night she whizzes thro' the darkness drear
In middle flight, nor knows the sweet of sleep ;
At dawn she stays her in her wide career,
On roof-top or on lofty tower to keep ;
Makes many a one to fear, makes many a one to weep.

To false and to perverted holds she on
As firm and long as when 'tis truth she tells.
Then she, with something suiting every one,
Worked on the minds of men her evil spells ;
On fact and fiction equally she dwells :
“ Æneas came, the high-born son of Troy ;
To him the widow's pride no more rebels ;
Their Kingdoms now forgot, they will employ
The winter long in love, the slaves of guilty joy.”


III.

From watch-tower high she saw the early dawn,
She saw the ships sail out with yards asquare,
She saw the beach with every oar withdrawn,
And thrice and four times beat her bosom bare,
And tore and tore-away her yellow hair :
“ O Jupiter, shall this adventurer go,
And to have mocked me in my Kingdom dare ?
Will they not catch up arms and none be slow,
And pour from every street to chase the fleeing foe ?

“ And others drag the vessels from the dock ?
Fire, fire, with speed, and weapons ; row—give way !
What say I or where am I ? What mad shock
Makes settled purpose alter or delay ? ”
Poor wretch, you feel the treachery to-day :
Then it behoved when offering your throne.
Lo his right hand, his honour, who they say
Bore on his back his father helpless grown,
Who carries Gods with him, his country’s and his own ! ”

“ Had I not power to rend him limb from limb,
And fling him to the sea ! His friends—His son,
Could I not shed the blood and serve up him
A dainty dish for sire to feed upon !
But doubtful were it how the fight should run :
So be it ; whom feared I that was to die ?
With brands into his camp I should have won,
And filled the holds with flame, and slaughtered lie
Should sire and son and all, and with them all should I.

“ Sun, shedding on all earthly labours light ;
Juno, my witness and my arbiter ;
Hecate, in city cross-ways cried at night ;
Ye Dire Avengers, and ye Gods of her
Who am to die ; now hear your worshipper ;



Now give my wrongs the attention they demand.
If that nefarious man a wanderer
Must touch a harbour, must attain to land,
If so Jove's fates require and such fixed limit stand ;

“ Still, harassed by fierce nations' fight and arms,
Exiled from kingdom, torn from son's embrace,
Let him cry out for aid in war's alarms,
And see his best friends dying in disgrace.
Nor, when submitted to hard terms of peace,
Let him enjoy a throne or genial day ;
But die before the time for his decease,
And lie unburied in the middle way.
This with my latest voice, with my last blood, I pray.

“ Then you, my Tyrians, bear them root and branch
A bitter hatred. This the offering ye
Shall offer to my ashes—to be stanch,
Denying league, denying amity.
Rise from my bones, Avenger Some, and see
Those men of Troy with fire and sword thou smite,
Now—then—whenever force and fortune be.
Shore facing shore, sea facing sea, in spite,
Host facing host, may they and all their children fight.”

ON A GREEK INSCRIPTION.

IN a recent number of *Hermathena* (No. xx., p. 85, 1894)
I published the text of a Greek Inscription of which I then
possessed only a cast. The publication has led to the
recovery of the original, which is now in the Library of
Trinity College.—T. K. ABBOTT.

NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN CICERO'S
LETTERS.

AD Fam. ix. 4: De Coctio mihi gratum est; nam id etiam Attico mandaram. Tu si minus ad nos, accurremus ad te: si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil.

No apology is needed for a fresh attempt to solve the difficulties of this exceedingly dark passage. As to the word *hortum*, Prof. Tyrrell and Dr. Purser say that they frankly give it up as it stands, "although it looks as if it was sound." The only emendation of the corrupt *Coctio* which has met with much favour is *Cocceio*, proposed by Corradus. But this correction does not fit in with the whole drift of the brief letter, of which the passage forms the concluding part. The few lines which precede are given to an elaborate jest based on a philosophic tenet. The sentence which follows, whatever be its true interpretation in detail, certainly bears upon literary matters, as the word *bibliotheca* shows. It is most unlikely that there should have been thrust in between two references to books a reference to a man whom we only know as one with whom Cicero had dealings about financial matters.

I assume that Cicero jests on philosophical topics in the latter part of the letter as well as in the earlier part. The corrupt *Coctio* I take to be derived from an original *Gargettio* (through *Carctio*). Cicero uses the name Gargettius for Epicurus in Ad Fam. xv. 16, 1; and is followed by Statius in two passages, viz. Silv. i. 3, 94, and ii. 2, 113. The word *hortum*, I believe, carries on the jest, and jocularly indicates the writings of Epicurus and his school. Of

course *hortus* as a designation of the Epicurean school is common enough, and it is no great stretch in a humorous letter to apply it to Epicurean books. The words *Attico mandaram* remind us how often in his letters to Atticus Cicero begs his friend to send him books, and especially philosophical books. Side by side with *si hortum in bibliotheca habes* I would place another obscure phrase, at the end of the letter Ad Quint. Fratrem, ii. 8 (10): *hortus domi est*. In the same letter there is an allusion, as I think, to the philosophy of Epicurus in a hard passage with which I will now deal (§ 3): “*apud Anicium uidebimus ut paratum sit. Nos enim ita philologi sumus, ut uel cum fabris habitare possimus. Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto sed ab taraysira*” (so Med. but Crat. *araxira*). The philosophy which enables a man to live with artisans can be none other than the Epicurean. It is needless to cite the numerous passages in which Cicero and other ancient writers censure the Epicurean school for seeking proselytes among the vulgar. The word *Hymetto* is strange and not above suspicion. That Cicero alludes not to philosophy in general, but to some particular form of philosophy, seems to be clear; and, even if that were not so, the substitution of Hymettus for Athens (at least in this connexion) would be strange. Odder things have happened in the transmission of the text of Cicero's Letters than that *Hymetto* should be here a corruption for *Gargetto*. I do not, however, press this suggestion, but pass on to consider the corrupt *araysira* or *araxira*. The commentary of Prof. Tyrrell mentions the principal corrections which have been made. My friend Dr. Purser has lately communicated to me an emendation of his own, *ab ara Syria*, in which words he supposes to lie concealed “a reference to some place in the lower parts of Rome where Eastern religion was beginning to germinate.” Ingenious as this is, I cannot but think that the context points to the name

of some place distinctly connected with the history of philosophy. This place I imagine to be *Abdera*. Cicero appears here, as elsewhere, to lay stress on the derivation of Epicureanism from the writings of Democritus. If *Gargetto* be read, the sense is, "I derive this philosophy of mine, I will not say from Epicurus, but rather from Democritus." If *Hymetto* be right, the meaning is, "This philosophy of mine comes, not from refined Athens, but from rude Abdera." In either case there will be a humorous reference to philosophy, such as Cicero loves. C. F. W. Müller, in a note on *hortus domi est*, gives references to a number of passages in which the ordinary expressions *domi est*, *domi nascitur* are found; but only three of his quotations contain *hortus*, viz. Fam. ix. 4 (the passage considered above), Ad Quint. Fratr. iii. 1, 14 (from which no help is to be derived), and Plaut. Mil. 191, "domi habet hortum et condimenta." The citation of the passage in Plautus shows that he acquiesces in that interpretation of *hortus*, both in Ad Quint. Fratr. ii. 8 (10), and Ad Fam. ix. 4, which gives the word the sense of "a rich store." But in the latter passage, at all events, this meaning is unsuitable. Cicero cannot have said to Varro, "if you have a rich store (of books generally) in your library we shall lack nothing." In several of the letters to Varro he expresses the pleasure with which he looks forward to meeting him, and discussing with him problems in philosophy. Obviously there is allusion here to some particular problem, and to the books necessary for its elucidation. If we had Varro's replies to Cicero's letters the nature of the anticipated discussion would be made clear. The earlier portion of the letter indicates that the debate was to be about Fate, and was to proceed on the lines followed in Cicero's fragment "De Fato," in which he represents himself as carrying on the discussion with Hirtius (probably an Epicurean), and as criticising Epicurus among others.

:- To return to the emendation *Gargettio* for *Coctio*, I may recall the fact that in the MSS. of the Letters the miswriting of *c*, *t*, and *tt* has often led to errors. Thus, in Ad Att. xiii. 12, 4, we have *tuos nectio* for *tuo S. Vettio*. In Ad Att. iv. 17, 3, Memmius . . . plane refrixerat et eo magis †cociace (so Med.) quod iam intellegebamus, &c., I should prefer to consider the monstrosity *cociace* a depravation of *totus iacet* (*tot' iacet*) rather than of *hoc iacet*, as Professor Tyrrell reads, after Th. Mommsen. *Hoc* for *hac re* seems to be superfluous, as *eo magis* precedes. Probably *lege Coctia* in Ad Att. iv. 16, 8, is due to a similar perversion; but I do not venture on a remedy.

The passages to which I have referred above, all contain allusions to philosophy; to these I will add another, viz. Ad Fam. xv. 18, 1, “‘Ridere, igitur’ inquires, ‘possumus?’ Non mehercule facillime; uerum tamen aliam aberrationem a molestiis nullam habemus. ‘Ubi igitur,’ inquires, ‘philosophia?’ Tua quidem in culina, mea †molestast; pudet enim seruire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne conuicium Platonis audiam.” Professor Tyrrell and Dr. Purser bring objections to the emendation of Baiter, *in oleo est*, as compared with *in palaestra est* (Manutius), viz. that the meaning of the two corrections is much the same, and that the former correction is further from the MSS., while the word *oleum* is less suited for prose than *palaestra*, unless in connexion with the latter. Assimilation to *molestiis* above seems to be the cause of the corruption, and *in oleo est* would, I think, be more readily subject to the assimilation than *in palaestra est*. As to the nearness to the MSS., *in oleo est* would easily pass to *molest*, and the extension to *molestast* would be simple. With regard to the sense, the Dublin editors evidently thought only of *oleum* as used by the athlete. But it would be better to understand an allusion to the midnight lamp, which is certainly present in Ad Att. xiii. 38, 1: ante

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lucem cum scriberem contra Epicurios, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te. Thus understood, the reading *in oleo est* is far better suited to the context than *in palaestra est*; for the "aliae res" were certainly literary undertakings.

Ad Fam. v. 20, 2, "ita accepi librum a meo seruo scriba ut eundem acceperim a fratre tuo." The Dublin editors bracket the word *seruo*, with Baiter. Mendelssohn retains it, giving a reference to Mommsen's "Staatsrecht," iii. 1, 428, where quotations are adduced from legal writings and inscriptions, in which *seruos* is employed to denote *libertus*. But it is highly improbable that Cicero should just once in the whole range of his writings speak of a *libertus* as *seruos*, particularly seeing that the usage appears to occur nowhere else in ordinary literature. On the other hand, it is not likely that *seruo* is a gloss on *scriba*. I suggest that it is a corruption of the name *Laurea*, which belonged to the freedman in question (§ 1, "M. Tullius, scriba meus"), as we may conclude with probability from Plin. H. N. xxxi. 7. If I am right in this conjecture, we have, in the change of *Laurea* to *seruos*, an example of the trouble caused by the long form (*l*) of the letter *s*, which led to its confusion with *l*, *f*, *t*, a confusion frequently found in many texts, but especially in that of Cicero's Letters. I need hardly point out that the collocation of the words *meo Laureia scriba* is very Ciceronian; so e.g. in Ad Fam. ix. 21, 3, "eius fratrem scurram," and xiii. 45, 1, "eius Anchialum seruom."

J. S. REID.

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HERMATHENA.



ARTHUR PALMER.

THE editorship of HERMATHENA changes hands again, for the second time in its brief career. But how sad is the second change compared with the first! Dr. Ingram, the first editor, who for years had so admirably conducted the magazine, made over his charge in 1888 to Arthur Palmer. Increasing years and changed duties admonished Dr. Ingram to invite a successor, and a successor was ready, who had, we felt sure, excellent qualifications for the position. Our opinions were amply justified. For ten years he presided over a magazine which has been received both in this country and abroad with a most generous welcome. But he is no longer among us: and it is with deep sorrow that here I have, in the name not only of the contributors to HERMATHENA, but also of all the members our College, to express the deep sense of loss which we have all sustained in the death of our gifted editor and our dear friend, Arthur Palmer.

I shall never forget a certain day in 1860 when the commencement of the Long Vacation brought about an amalgamation between the Junior Freshmen and Senior Freshmen tables at Commons. At that time I knew hardly anyone beyond my own year, and I sat somewhat awed by the superior dignity of the Senior Freshmen

commensales, until a strikingly handsome and brilliant looking young man entered the Hall, and, taking his seat, at once became the life of the table. His spirits were exuberant, and his talk was bright, witty, and refined. His tall figure gave athletic promise, and I thought of the lines in *Oenone* :

“ His sunny hair
Cluster'd about his temples like a God's.”

Some talk about classics made us acquainted, and I spent in his room that evening the first of countless other *noctes deum*. We were elected scholars in the same year ; and in 1867 we were both candidates for Fellowship. In that year two friends of mine joined me in producing a little collection of Greek and Latin translations which appeared under the name of *Hesperidum Susurri*. The dreaded *Saturday* and many other London papers, treated us with remarkable and, I fear, undeserved kindness. But there was one, the *London Review*, which called us bog-trotters, and pointed out several wrong accents—nothing, I think, worse than this. But we were undeniably Irishmen, and therefore, presumably, bog-trotters. Immediately an indignant protest by Palmer appeared in an Irish paper, shooting the *London Review* through and through with cunning words, and lauding to the skies the verses of the bog-trotters. I am aware that heroes of novels always glorify the discredited efforts of competitors, but in my chequered and not very brief career, I have not met another instance of this particular kind of nobility. I have always felt that I was very well treated by a rival, if, having something injurious to disclose, he held his peace.

Palmer's published works, though quite sufficient to be the basis of a high reputation as a scholar and a man of letters, gave but a pale reflexion of his intellect. His familiarity with the poetry of ancient Rome and Greece

and modern England was very exceptionally intimate and extensive. A paper by him on Horse-Racing in the *Quarterly Review* (Oct., 1885) will show his powers of dealing with a subject as remote as might well be from the purview of a Professor of Latin. No reader of another article, that on Aristophanes, by him in the same *Review* (Oct., 1884) will fail to see what an excellent historian of literature he might have been. But one signal aptitude possessed by him diverted him from this and other broad fields which he could have cultivated with great success into what it is now fashionable to call a mere corner—I mean classical criticism, or the art of emending the texts of the great masters of ancient literature. If this is a corner, it is one of which no man of taste should feel ashamed to say:

*Ille . . . mihi praefer omnes
Angulus ridet.*

But it is no mere corner. It is a fair mountain, and in a really Fair City it ought to lead to the stars. It was a passion with Palmer; and it was with no small chagrin that he owned to me not more than a year since that he had come to the conclusion that an emendator must now be prepared to look on his art as merely subjective, to find his most certain divinations passed over in silence or rejected, and to see crude guesses which he had afterwards withdrawn installed with praise in texts or commended in notes. His first love was the Latin elegiac poetry. Among many certain and beautiful restorations in this sphere, I am most charmed by his correction of Propertius ii. 33, 12:

Mansisti stabulis abdita pasta tuis.

The poet is supposed to say to Io, "thou didst remain in thy stalls concealed after thy pasture." But this is not the way in which poets write. Palmer saw that Propertius referred to the characteristic feature of the cow into which

Io was transformed. Many animals remain in stalls;
cows chew the cud. He restored :

Mandisti stabulis arbuta pasta tuis.

It will be remembered that Theocritus (ix. 11) speaks of
cows as eating arbutus :

Λὶψ κομάρως τραγούσας ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἐτινάξε.

We are glad to see that this emendation has been adopted
by the learned editor of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*.
We wish that he had been able to accord the same favour
to another :

Catullus (c. 6) :

Perspecta est igni tum unica amicitia.

He was himself far more sure about his correction of xxv.
5 to

Cum diva miluorum aves ostendit oscitantes.

But I do not find that the emendation, though brilliant
and attractive in the extreme, carries conviction to my
mind. This reminds me of a certain quality in Palmer's
emendations which always seemed to me very admirable.
Whether they carried conviction or not, they invariably
delighted the reader, and convinced him absolutely, if not
of the truth of the conjecture, at all events of the taste and
scholarship of the critic. This is illustrated by nearly
every one of the very numerous conjectures published by
him, especially those on Plautus, where the exiguity of the
data often makes certainty quite unattainable. Where it
was attainable he in most cases achieved it.

In Ovid's *Heroides* he made some striking emendations,
such as xi. 127 :

*Tura rogo placitae nimium mandata sororis
Tu fer.*

for *Tu rogo dilectae . . . Perfer.*

xvi. 38 :

Prima mihi *vulnus* nuntia Fama tulit

for *vultus*: cp. ll. 39, 40.

xvii. 260 :

et dabo *cunctatas* tempore victa manus

for *cunctas*.

And to Lucretius he did some good service, *e.g.* :—

iv. 1125 :

Segmenta et pulcra in pedibus Sicyonia rident,

segmenta ('flounces') for the corrupt *unguenta*.

v. 311 :

Denique non monimenta virum *monimenta* videmus

Quaerere proporro sibi, *conque* senescere *ceras*

for *dilapsa* . . . *cumque* . . . *credas* ; the additional *monimenta* being required by *proporro*.

1010 :

Illi imprudentes ipsi sibi saepe venenum

Vergebant, <medici> nunc dant sollertius *usi*

for *nudent* . . . *ipsi*.

But Plautus was his favourite study : it was Plautus on which his *divinandi facultas* was mainly exercised. Corrections of exceptional brilliancy, and of that boldness which belongs to genius, are :—

Poen. 137 :

Gerrae germanae : αἱ δὲ κολλῦραι λύραι

for *haedecol lyrae lyrae* ; thus restoring a Greek proverb.

Truc. 539 :

Purpuram ex Sarra tibi

Attuli, *et vas, Ponto maenas*.

for *tuas Ponto amoenas*.

Rud. 859 :

Ego hunc scelestum in ius rapiam ἐξούλης *dica*

for *exulem* (*dica* from *-diam* of previous line).

Less daring, but still excellent, are :—

Curc. 292 :

Quos semper videas bibentes *asse* in thermopolio

for *esse*.

Bacch. 384 :

Ut *suum* ex lutulento coeno propere hinc eliciat foras

for *eum* (unmetrical).

Pers. 436 :

Citius extemplo a foro

Fugiunt quam ex *sporta* ludus quom emissust lupus

for *porta*.

And there are countless others, with which the pages of HERMATHENA were continually enriched.

Palmer's divinations were always guided by the rules of logic. For instance, he could never be brought to believe that in one passage of Horace (*Sat.* i. 3, 119-121), and never again in all Latin literature, *vereor ut* means "I fear he will." His emendation of *nunc* for *non* in that passage has not been accepted, though it has been shown to demonstration that the other alleged examples of *vereor ut* in that sense are irrelevant. "It is proved already, and it will go near to be thought so shortly," was often sportively quoted by him. But of late he began to doubt the latter part of Dogberry's *dictum*. The already proved emendation often, as in the case of

Perspecta est igni tum unica amicitia,

did not even go near to be thought so.

His Greek conjectures were chiefly on Aristophanes, and are all highly interesting ; and the recently discovered Bacchylides affords further proofs of his powers as an emender of Greek poetry.

Arthur Palmer, as a young man, possessed no mean athletic powers. He was a fair cricketer, a good racquet

player, and not to be despised at golf. On the few occasions on which he spoke in public he showed remarkable gifts as a public speaker. His voice had a singular charm, and his possession of a pleasant, unambitious humour and unfailing tact made him master of most of the other qualities which go to make up the orator. If I may speak for all the Fellows and Professors of the College, and in using *me* be supposed to mean *nobis*, I would say, in the words of a favourite poet of his, that he was

*Qualem neque candidiorem
Terra tulit nec cui me sit devinctior alter.*

R. Y. TYRRELL.

POSTGATE'S *SILVA MANILIANA*.

IN the delay which has hitherto befallen Malvinus Bechert's long-promised edition of Manilius—a delay which we must hope the third fasciculus of the new *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* will end soon—Prof. Postgate's little volume (it contains only 72 pages) is unusually welcome. Small as it is, it is the result of a prolonged and conscientious study of the poem; and its author, if I surmise correctly, in dedicating it to Prof. Jebb, implies that he considers it to be not an unfinished or autoschediastic product of vacant hours, but a mature and seriously meant contribution to the criticism of Manilius.

The first chapter, *De locis spuriiis et suspectis*, deals with a number of passages which Bentley condemns as non-Manilian in diction, or on other grounds. It was perhaps unfortunate, at the outset, to single out for approval so extremely doubtful a method as Bentley has adopted in ii. 231, *Parsque marina nitens fundentis semper Aquari*. Difficult as it is to explain this verse quite satisfactorily, few critics of the present day will acquiesce in Bentley's transposal of it to follow iv. 139, altered, too, into a shape so perfectly different as *Pars est prima nocens humentis semper Aquari*, in which every word is changed except the last two, and changed violently. Prof. Postgate, apparently lost in admiration at this very hazardous manipulation, exclaims, 'quam uellem eandem in v. 519

¹ Cambridge, 1897.

rationem secutus esset!' This passage is given in the *Gemblacensis* thus—

513 *Hinc Pompeia manent ueteris monumenta triumph
Et quod erat regnum pelagus fuit una malorum
Non extincta lues semperque recentia flammis
Et mithri dat eos uultus induta trophea.*

In these verses Jacob saw that 514 was out of its place, and restored it (for the transposition is in this case certain) to follow 542—

Incubuit pontus, timuit nauifraga tellus,
Et quod erat regnum, pelagus fuit: una malorum
Proposita est merces, uesano dedere ponto
Andromedan, teneros ut belua manderet artus.

A piece of criticism as dextrous as indubitable! Yet Bentley not only failed to see this, but pronounced 514, 515 the work of an interpolator, and then 'restored' these interpolated lines thus

Cui quod erat regnum, pelagus fuit: una malorum
Non extincta lues semperque recentior annis.

Comparisons, they say, are odious; and the saying was never more completely proved than in the case of these two transpositions. Bentley's is violently improbable, and cannot be right; Jacob's, not only acute, but convincing.

It must not be supposed that Prof. Postgate is a blind adherent of Bentley's from this. On the contrary, he is a severe, at times a damaging, critic. In i. 433 sqq.—

Quam propter cetus conuoluens squamea terga
Orbis insurgit tortis et fluctuat aluo,
435 Intentans morsum similis iam iamque tenenti.

Bentley marked 435 as interpolated, because the Cetus (sea-monster) is separated from Andromeda by half the distance of the sky. Postgate rightly observes that the constellations retain in the sky the various attitudes which

legend assigned to them as heroes, men, or animals during their life on the earth. 'Cetus in terris intentabat morsus, raptus in sidera intentat: similis erat iam iamque tenenti, iam iamque tenenti similis est.'

iv. 246 sqq. The qualities produced by Capricorn are thus described:—

Sub te censendum est; scrutari caeca metalla
 Depositae et opes terramque exurere uenis,
 248 Materiamque manu certa duplicari et arte,
 Quicquid et argento fabricetur, quicquid et auro,
 250 Quod ferrum calidi soluant atque aera camini
 Consummentque foci Cererem, tua munera surgent.

Bentley transposed 248, 249, altering 248 thus *Materiamque rudem cara duplicauerit arte*. Postgate, accepting the transposition, reasonably doubts the recoction of 248, and would write the verse *Materiamque manu certa duplicarit et arte*. But this, too, is unsatisfactory, not only because the transposition is hazardous, but also because the subject of *manu et certa arte* shifts from *quicquid* (the material) to the *worker* of the material. On palæographical grounds, however, *duplicari*^v might easily have lost its ^t, and become *duplicari*; which, still, can hardly weigh against the objections just mentioned.

Prof. Postgate suggests another transposition in the interesting passage which describes the qualities given by Aquarius, iv. 261 sqq.:—

260 Cognatas tribuit inuenalis Aquarius artes
 Cernere sub terris undas, inducere terras,
 Ipsaque conuersis aspergere fluctibus astra,
 Litoribusque nouis per luxum illudere ponto,
 Et uarios fabricare lacus et flumina ficta,
 265 Et peregrinantes domibus suspendere riuos,—
 Mille sub hoc habitant artes, quas temperat unda;
 Quippe etiam, mundi faciem sedesque mouebit
 Sidereas, caelumque nouum uersabit in orbem.
 269 Quae per aquas ueniunt operum pontisque sequuntur.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory sense to 269 where it stands : it looks like a summing up, and might come in not inaptly after all the infinitives in 261-265. If any transposition is admitted, this seems to me the most plausible. Postgate's view is different. He proposes the following order:—265, 267, 268, 266, 269, thus bringing together

Mille sub hoc habitant artes quas temperat unda
and

Quae per aquas NAVANT OPERAM fontesque sequuntur,

as he would correct the verse under discussion. The suggestion is worth considering, but the twofold theory—(1) of a transposition, (2) of a depravation of the verse—must necessarily be received with caution.

It might be worth the while of a new editor of Manilius to search for a plausible theory of the transposition of verses which seem to occur in the poem by a reconstruction of the archetype on the lines of Lachmann's Lucretian and Catullian theories. At present I am not aware that any such attempt has been seriously made; but even if no sure footing were attainable, it is probable that the research which such an undertaking implies would lead to valuable results, and, what is of consequence, to discussion of Manilius generally, his relation to other astronomers, and the various problems of a scientific kind which his poem cannot fail to suggest.

The second chapter, *De locis corruptis*, pp. 21-56, is fruitful in suggestions, and forms indubitably the most important section of Prof. Postgate's volume. I will mention some of the emendations which strike me most:—

- I. 244. *Opera ac uadimonia* for *operum uadimonia*.
- I. 637. *Sic seu quis Eoos seu petit Hesperios* for *seu si quis E*.
- II. 347. *Consummet* for *consumat*.

III. 154. *hac in parte fides aque hac momenta dabuntur* for *hac in parte dies atque haec m. d.*

III. 373-7. Postgate's inversion of *omni* (374), *illum* (376), changing the former to *omnem*, is extraordinarily clever, and removes the difficulty of a very obscure passage. This is a correction of the same kind as Prof. Jebb's admirable restoration of iv. 38, 39, recorded in my *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 116.

III. 598. *Bis sex adiectis messibus aeuo* for *b. s. a. mensibus ae.* The gradual descent of the numbers here makes this emendation *messibus* almost certain. I am not equally convinced by *vix sex* for *bis sex* in 616: the combination, from its resemblance, would seem, I imagine, bizarre; *bis sex* has occurred only 18 lines before.

IV. 222. *rapiunt siluas* for *capiunt siluas*.

IV. 669. *Siccas funestat harenas* for *s. infestat h. In-fuscat*, however, seems also possible.

IV. 703 : ..

Et quamquam communis eat tutela per omne
Corpus et in proprium diuersis artubus exit.

Postgate, *at* in *proprium*, which the opposition of the clauses makes more than probable.

V. 135. *Infidæ mentes* for *Hinc fidæ mentes*.

Other corrections seem more open to criticism. In II. 4, MSS. give :

Erroremque ducis totidem quot uicerat annis
Instantem bello geminata per agmina ponto.

Bentley emended 5 thus : *I. b. geminataque Pergama ponto*, citing a very remarkable parallel from a MS. of the *Heroides* in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where, in xvii. 205, over *per agmina* (which has been deleted) is written *que pergama*. I confess myself much inclined to believe Bentley's alteration of the Manilian

verse to be right. Postgate, however, who does not say whether he has examined the Trinity MS. for himself, prefers

Innntem et belli geminata pericula ponto.

I have found *pericula* confused with *piacula* in MSS., but should doubt its passing into *per agmina*, whereas, given as the right word *pergama*, it is not difficult to see how the *per* was separated from *gama*, and this has expanded into *agmina*.

I come to a passage which has long been the despair of critics, IV. 787 sqq. The *Gembl.* gives these verses thus :

787 Insula Trinacriae fluitantem ad iura sororem
Subsequitur cremen sub eodem condita signo
Proximaque Italia et tenui diuisa profundo
Ora patris sequitur leges nec sidere rupta.

For *cremen* other MSS. give *cretens*, i.e. *Creten*, with *s* from the following *sub*. In 789 *Italia et* must be wrong, and is a corruption either of *Italiae*, or *Italiae et*. The island of Sicily is under the same zodiacal sign as the island of Crete, i.e. Sagittarius ; close as it is to Italy, and being, as it is, a shore only parted from the mainland by a small depth of water, it follows the laws imposed by father Jove, not separated (from Crete) even by its constellation. This is a meaning, and so interpreted, the passage is consistent with the poet's previous statements. *Ad iura*, I think, is a corruption of *aditura* ; the two islands, Sicily and Crete, are called sisters, and as such, are fancifully represented as wishing to be nearer each other than they actually are.

The difficulties which Bentley raises, and which Postgate repeats, are caused by reading with the Madrid MS. and Voss² *paris* for *patris*. If *paris* of M and Voss² is right,

the two verses, 789, 790, would seem to be an interpolation: at least, neither Bentley nor Postgate satisfy criticism.

V. 51:

Punica nec toto fluitabant aequore rostra.

'Rostra tum credo fluitabunt cum aes natauerit,' Postgate, suggesting as an emendation *aplustra*. I doubt whether Manilius was so particular, and suspect that he conceived the *rostra* as in part of wood.

V. 54:

In ponto caeli fortuna natabit.

So most MSS.: *secura* the Gemblacensis. Postgate offers *rectura*, a very rare, scarcely classical, word.

V. 209:

Dimicat in cineres orbis fatumque supremum
Sortitur.

Postgate offers *Demigrat* = in fauillam abit. I venture to prefer my own correction, *Ima dat*.

I have one new suggestion to offer on the difficult verse, IV. 298:

Quam partem †decanae dixere decanica gentes,

(al. *dogane*, *degane*, *degant*). The Bodleian tenth-century glosses (Auct. I. 2, 19) on Martianus Capella, II. 200, give the following:—*decanorum hoc est decem caelestium regionum duces. decani sunt qui et doriferi dicuntur qui aliis ferunt dona*. This statement may be of some use in the consideration of the corrupt verse just cited. Postgate suggests *Danaae*, which surely could never have been corrupted into *decanae* or *doganae*. I incline to think *de* of this word the last part of *inde* (Jacob suggested *indigenae*), and, agreeing

with Bentley, feel no certitude of *Quam partem*, altering it, however, not into *Qua propter*, but *Quo circa*, which, in the very early MS. of Grattius' *Cynegetica*, recently collated in H. Schenkl's *Zur Kritik und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Grattius und anderer Lateinischer Dichter* (Teubner, 1898), is written in v. 122 *Quo carca*. The latter part of *decane* may be *asiae*, or *aliae*.

The third and last chapter of the *Silva Maniliana* is devoted to the *Matritensis*, of which I have already given some account in HERMATHENA, XIX. 261-287.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

NOTES ON CICERO AD ATTICUM XII.

THE following remarks bear in part on the admirable work of Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser, whom I beg leave to denote, for brevity's sake, by TP.

Att. xii. 1. § 1. *utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae possim currere!* Quod quidem ipsum *scribe*, quaeso, ad me, ut dum consisto in Tusculano, *sciam* quid *garriat*.

TP here give *osculum* the sense of "little mouth," which the dictionaries, rightly, I think, describe as poetical and post-Augustan. To make *quod* subject to *garriat* is to throw the words from *scribe* to *sciam* into an awkward parenthesis. *Quod* is almost certainly object to *scribe*, and in that case it is far more natural to supply *Attica* than *osculum* as subject to *garriat*.

1. § 2. *noctuabundus*.

The word is isolated and of strange formation. Perhaps Cicero wrote *noctu uagabundus*, a jocular imitation of *νυκτιπαραγκύς*.

5. § 2. Cato me quidem delectat, sed etiam Bassum Lucilium sua.

Unless this person be the man to whom allusion is made in Fam. 7, 20, 3 by the name Bassus only, he is not mentioned elsewhere. *Lucilium* may be an error for *Lucili*, by assimilation, to which in MSS. the gen. in *-i* was particularly exposed. The reference will then be to some scene in the Satires of Lucilius.

9. (Written at Astura): cetera noli putare amabiliora fieri posse uilla, littore, prospectu maris, tum iis rebus omnibus.

TP accept Lehmann's correction, *tumulis* for *tum iis*, based on a passage which is at first sight strikingly parallel, viz. 14, 13, 1 (written at Puteoli): utrum magis tumulis prospectuque an ambulatione ἀλιτενεί delecter. But it should be noticed that while the surroundings of Puteoli make the mention of *tumuli* natural enough, those of Astura render a reference to hills highly improbable. In 15, 16b Cicero refers to the tameness of the scenery at Astura. I would therefore read in 12, 9 *prospectu maritumo, his rebus omnibus*, making a change which is, palæographically, easier than that of Lehmann. For the summative phrase *his rebus omnibus* ("and all my surroundings here") cf. Fin. 2, 23, pistoribus piscatu aucupio uenatione, his omnibus exquisitis; and Verr. 2, 74, where a number of *cum* clauses are summed up by *haec cum omnia fierent*; also *haec omnia* in Tusc. 3, 7, and Cato, Agr. cc. 51, 73, 133. In Verr. 4, 46, at the end of an enumeration, some MSS. give *autem haec omnia*, some *haec autem omnia*; the variation in the position of *autem* there points to its having been inserted by copyists who did not like the asyndeton. I take the opportunity of pointing out that Draeger, § 363 (following earlier writers) denies to Cicero the *asyndeton summativum*; but even *ceteri*, *cetera* alternate in his writings with *ceterique*, *ceteraque*; see e.g. Tusc. 4, 66; Fin. 4, 35.

12. § 1. de dote tanto magis perpurga. Balbi regia condicio est delegandi. Quoquo modo confice. Turpe est rem impeditam iacere.

The passage refers to the delay Cicero had made in refunding to Terentia her dowry, after the divorce. TP suggest that Terentia had "delegated" Balbus to Cicero as the person who was to receive the money on her behalf, and that the tyranny lay in the nomination of a representative who was at the time so influential that Cicero

Cicero rejects this as base, and adds that if he accepts the proposal it will never be carried out (*hoc ipsum puto esse perdere*); a little later in the letter he expresses a fear that the auction will not take place. The next alternative was, I believe, this: that Caesar should give to Cicero an order on some *manceps*, who would purchase some of the confiscated property, subject to a payment to be made to Cicero at the end of a year. This would relieve Cicero of the disgrace he would incur by bidding himself; but he hints that no *manceps* was to be trusted, and that the year would be as long as the *annus* or cycle of Meto the astronomer. The phrase *delegationem a mancipe*, "payment by a bill on a *manceps*," is like *soluere a tarpessita* and many other expressions. The third scheme was that Vettienus should buy up Cicero's debt at half its nominal value, taking his chance of recovery. [I may notice that Att. 10, 5, 3, which TP quote, can have nothing to do with 12, 3, 2; the only thing common to the two passages is the mention of Vettienus.] To return to 12, 12, 1: the words *Balbi regia condicio est delegandi* appear to mean that Cicero was trying to get the capitalist Balbus to help him to discharge Terentia's claim, and that Balbus wanted to exact hard terms for the accommodation. "Balbus demands tyrannical terms for paying over the money to Terentia."

14. § 3. *relaxor tamen ad omniaque nitor, non ad animum sed ad uultum ipsum, si queam, reficiendum.*

The reading of Med. (m. pr.), viz. *ad omniaque*, should not have been rejected by editors. The construction *niti ad* is common enough, and *niti ad omnia* is like *descendere ad omnia*, "to leave no stone unturned." Even if *ad* be ejected, Cicero may well be supposed to have written *omnia nitor*, as he wrote *contendere omnia* and other similar things. In any case, there is no need here to resort to conjectural emendation.

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15. mihi adhuc nihil optius fuit hac solitudine.

The reading of the second hand in Med., viz. *aptius* (the first has *peius*), deserves to be preferred to the conjecture of Kahnt, *optatius*, which is accepted by TP; *aptius* lies nearer to *peius*, and occurs elsewhere in similar contexts, as in 29. § 2, 13, 1, 2, and Fam. 5, 15, 5.

19. § 2. de Cocceio et Libone quae scribis, approbo, maxime de iudicatu meo. De sponsu (so Bos.; *responsam*, Med.), si quid perspexeris.

TP read *de sponsione* with Schmidt; but *de sponsu* is closer to *responsum*, and the form *sponsus* seems to have been in legal use at all times. Both *iudicatus* and *iudicatio* are much rarer words.

20. § 1. litteras quas dederam pridie.

TP suggest here *pridie Id.* If the change be made, a similar change must be made in § 2, litteras . . . quas pridie dederam, and it is not likely that *Id.* has fallen out in both places.

21. § 2. de hortis, quoniam probas, effice aliquid. Rationes meas nosti. Si uero etiam a Faberio aliquid recedit, nihil negoti est. Sed etiam sine eo posse uideor contendere.

The word *recedit* has been generally condemned. TP print *accedit* with Klotz, remarking, however, "the MSS. give *recedit*, not a likely corruption of *accedit*." Yet, in Att. 12, 37, 1, Med. has *recepti* where edd. generally read *accepti*; and there are in MSS. a good many similar things. Nevertheless *recedit* may be right. When property or money passed over from one person to another, it was said *recedere*; so Pro Quinct. 38, cum res ab eo, quicum contraxisset, recessisset; and the dictionaries give parallels from juridical Latin. The words *si quid* . . . a Faberio *recedit* may therefore well mean "if F. passes over any money to me."

23. § 1. putaram te aliquid noui, quod eius modi fuerat initium litterarum, quamuis non curarem quid in Hispania fieret, tamen te scripturum, sed uidelicet meis litteris respondisti, ut de foro et de curia. "Sed domus est" ut ais, "forum." Quid ipsa domo mihi opus est carenti foro?

There are several difficulties here. The *ut* before *de foro* must either be consecutive, "so that you wrote about," or must mean "as for instance." In either case we must suppose that Cicero, in writing to Atticus, had asked for news of the courts and the senate. The comments of the editors prove the obscurity of the expression "sed domus est forum." TP explain: "so great will be the number of Cicero's visitors, that Atticus says his house will be a sort of forum." No doubt the words *domus est forum* are, taken by themselves, capable of this sense; cf. e.g. 2, 14, 2, and 5, 2, 2. But here the interpretation seems to me to fit the context badly, and it makes *sed* hard to explain. I believe the sense to be "but the *forum* is your very home," *i.e.* you have lived your life in the courts and therefore may be presumed to care to hear news of them more than of the war in Spain or anything else. Atticus is supposed to be excusing himself for not having sent more news. Then Cicero makes a petulant outburst, saying that he has nothing left to live for; he is cut off from practice in the courts, and so his home has no value for him. With *domus est forum* we may compare *habitare in foro* (Mur. 21).

23. § 2. quae te etiam ex Apollodori puto posse inuenire.

This passage is quoted in grammars as a remarkable instance of ellipse (*libris* or the like being omitted); while many editors suppose a word to have fallen out; TP suggest *Χρονικῶς*. But half a dozen lines above are the words *in tuo annali*; and Cicero probably carried on the word *annali* in his mind. The passage is really less note-

worthy than many other instances of ellipse, where the context gives no word which is to be carried on; so 38, § 3, and 41, § 3, Clodiae, "the house of Clodia." Compare also 29, § 2, Damasippi experiendum est, where *Damasippi* stands for "the house of D.," and is subject to *experiendum* (*est*). It has often been erroneously assumed (even recently in the "Archiv für Lat. Lexikographie," ix. p. 608) that Cicero here imitated the construction of *περᾶσθαι* with the genitive.

27. § 2. nunc plane non ego uictum nec uitam illam colere possum.

Objection has been taken to the phrase *uitam colere*, and the edd. only quote parallels from Plaut. and Ter. But cf. Ad Fam. 3, 13, 2, uitam colere studiis; Att. 13, 11, 1, colere inter nos; Lucret. 5, 1105, ui colere aeuom; also Cic. Hortens. fragm. 43 (ed. C. F. W. Müller), uictum colere. Munro on Lucret. 5, 804 illustrates the conjunction of *uictus* and *uita*; add Cic. Off. 1, 58; Verr. 2, 3, 11 and 2, 5, 187.

32. § 1. Publilia ad me scripsit matrem cum Publilio loqueretur, ad me cum illo uenturam.

The change from *loqueretur* to *uideretur* (adopted by TP and most edd.) seems to be needlessly violent. Read rather *quae cum Publilio loqueretur*, "in consequence of conversation with P."

32. § 1. illud autem quod fore uideo, ipsum uolo uitare, ne illi ad me ueniant. Et una est uitatio ut ego nollem, sed necesse est.

TP adopt, with Madvig, *ut ego auolem*. *Nolim*, etc. The change from *nollem* to *nolim*, at all events, is needless; the passage from "I would have had it otherwise" to "I would have it otherwise" is not here worth making. Nor does the insertion of *auolem* seem necessary. Cicero may well have used aposiopesis at *ego*, leaving the unpleasant

word to be supplied. If any change were needed I would make the very slight one of inserting *hinc* before *ego*. The reading of Schütz (commended by TP), viz. *ieiuna est uitatio ut ego nollem*, seems to be hardly Latin.

38. § 2. maxima est in Scapulae (sc. hortis) celebritas, propinquitas praeterea ubi sis, ne totum diem in uillam.

Cicero is looking out for *horti* in order to erect a shrine to Tullia. He sees two advantages in the *horti* of Scapula: (1) many people pass by them, so that the shrine would be much seen; (2) Atticus has a residence near by. That this is the meaning of *propinquitas* seems to be shown by 13, 18: uides propinquitas quid habeat; nos uero conficiamus hortos. Colloqui uidebamus, in Tusculano cum essem; tanta erat crebritas litterarum. As TP say, the words *propinquitas ubi sis* cannot be rendered "the nearness to the place where you are"; and they incline to read *urbis* or *urbi* for *ubi sis*, with Boot. But *propinquitas ubi sis* may well mean "the nearness of your residence, so that you may stay there while I am in mine"; it is intimated that Atticus will seize the chance of being near Cicero. The following words, *ne totum diem in uillam*, present still greater difficulty. TP and others read *uilla*, supposing Cicero to indicate that, as the gardens of Scapula are near Rome, he would not be obliged to make a stay there when he visited the shrine. In that case *noctem* would have been more to the point than *diem*. Moreover, in others of the passages where Cicero talks about purchasing *horti*, he makes it plain that he means to live in the house attached to the *horti*. This is clearly shown in a passage which is in other respects hard, viz. 44, § 2: illa Sili et Drusi non satis οἰκοδεσποτικά mihi uidentur. Quid enim? Sedere totos dies in uilla! TP say that if the reading *uillam* be retained in 38, § 2 with the meaning "so that you may not waste the whole day in coming to see me," there will be a

"complicated" ellipse. But Cicero carries ellipse to a remarkable pitch in his letters; and the complications in the other direction seem to me to be far more serious. I am surprised to see that, in a note on 44, § 2, TP interpret the words *sedere totos dies in uilla* as having reference to a proposed site for the shrine at Tusculum, which was so distant from Rome as to require Cicero to spend much time there on his visits to the shrine. Thus the words are divorced from their context. They must mean, "how can I spend time at such houses as there are in the *horti* of Silius and Drusus." For *sedere*, of stay at a locality, we may compare *consistere*, which Cicero several times uses in the letters.

38. § 4. siue hanc aberrationem a dolore delegerim, quae maxime liberalissima doctoque homine dignissima . . .

The defences which have been set up for the expression *maxime liberalissima* are all insufficient. TP read *maxime liberalis sit*, after Ursinus; Schmidt *delegerim maxime quae est liberalissima*. Rather read *quae maxima et liberalissima*. The omission of the substantive verb in the relative clause is, of course, not uncommon.

43. § 2. de Othone diffido.

In a note on Fam. 5, 13, 3 TP correctly say that *diffidere de aliquo* is questionable Latin. Here, therefore, a comma should be placed after *Othone*. The words *de Othone* form an anticipatory clause of a kind which is of common occurrence at the beginning of a sentence in Cicero's letters. The sense is not "I feel distrust of Otho," but "as touching Otho, I distrust him." For examples of the anticipative clause with *de*, see C. F. W. Müller's critical note on Fam. 1, 9, 19; his list of instances from the letters might be largely increased. See also Ad Herenn. 2, 15; Varro de re rust. 1, 19, 3; 1, 20, 1; 1, 21 Friedländer on Martial, 1, 18, 5.

44. § 3. bellumque narrat (sc. Philotimus) reliquom satis magnum: solet omnino esse †fului master.

Doubtless (as has often been suggested) Greek lies concealed under the corruption. The letters *fului* look like a misrepresentation of *φιλοτι*, and there may have been a jest on the name of Philotimus, such as *φιλοτίμων μαστήρ*, "a searcher out of ambitious news." The letters *μων* may, when transferred to Latin script, have come to be represented by a contractional mark, and so have been lost. This Philotimus was a great exaggerator; "saepe pro Pompeio mentiens (Att. 10, 9, 1); "fortis et nimium optimas (*ib.* 9, 7, 6). There is a similar jest in Att. 7, 1, 1: *egisse tecum ut uideres ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret.*

47. § 2. de cupiditate nemini concedam, ceteris rebus inferiores sumus.

TP change *concedam* to *concedo in*, remarking, "we have altered the *concedam* of the MSS. to *concedo in*, which would easily have been corrupted to *concedam*. Wesenberg points out that *concedam* could not be the subjunctive, which should be *concesserim*, nor the fut. indic., since Cicero speaks of himself as being *now* eager for the purchase." I venture to think that the fut. indic. yields a very simple and natural sense: "in point of eagerness to buy I shall not let myself be beaten by anyone, (when it comes to the auction)."

J. S. REID.

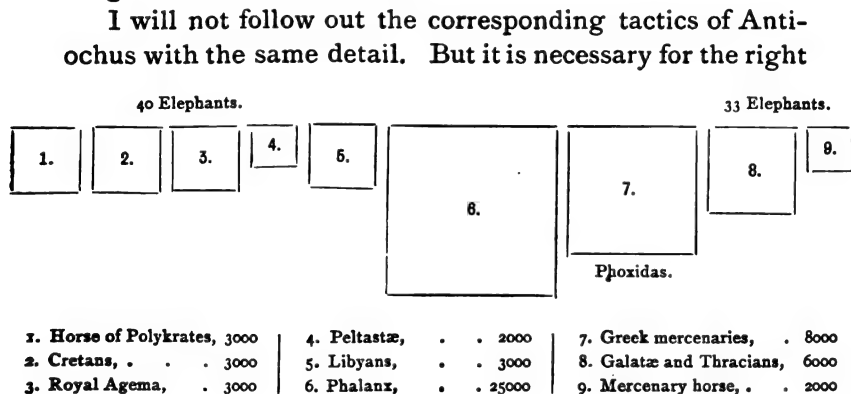
THE ARMY OF PTOLEMY IV. AT RAPHAIA.

THERE is no passage in Polybius more interesting and instructive than his account of the preparations for the great battle of Raphia (217 or 216 B.C.), by which the victorious career of Antiochus the Great against Egypt was checked, and the Syrian province of the Ptolemies recovered for the whole duration of Ptolemy IV.'s reign. But, so far as I know, it has never been observed that the explicit account of the formation and training of the army (v. 63-5) does not agree with the report of the battle (v. 82-6), and that considerable corrections of the text are required to make it, I will not say consistent, but even intelligible. As I can show that the latter passage is quite clear and consistent, and the actual performance of the army—*ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις χρεῖα*—not to be mistaken, the errors must be found in the former passage, nor is it difficult to do so, as soon as the right point of view is attained. Let us, however, first review the course of the battle.

After five days threatening and skirmishing between the hostile forces, Ptolemy drew out his forces in order of battle, and Antiochus responded with the same operation. "Both set their phalanxes, and their chosen troops armed in Macedonian fashion over against one another, but the wings of Ptolemy on either side were disposed as follows : Polykrates, with the cavalry he commanded (3000), occupied the [extreme] left wing (*κίρας*): between him and the phalanx (*τούτου δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος μεταξύ*), the Cretans (3000) were next the horse; next these the royal agema (household troops 3000); then the peltasts under Sokrates (2000), joining the Libyans armed in Macedonian fashion

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(3000.)” I have supplied the numbers of these various corps from the statement in the earlier passage. “But on the [extreme] right wing Echekrates the Thessalian had his horse (mercenaries, 2000). Next him, on the left, stood the Galatæ and Thracians (the latter residents in Egypt, 6000). Then Phoxidas with the (infantry) force of Greek mercenaries (8000) filled up the interval and joined the Egyptian phalanx-men. Of the elephants, 40 were on the left wing, where Ptolemy himself was to risk his fortune, but the remaining 33 were ranged in front of the right wing, where the Mercenary horse stood.” Here is a diagram for clearness sake.



understanding of the battle to remember that the Syrian army had a great superiority, both in quantity and quality, of elephants, so that Antiochus put 60 in front of his own right wing, where he himself commanded, and 42 on the left. Also the superior infantry, Thracians, Greek mercenaries, and Macedonians (in all 22,500) were on the right of his phalanx (20,000); on its left inside the cavalry were Asiatics, Lydians, Medes, Carmanians, and even 10,000 Arabs, adjoining the phalanx (in all 19,500). The special figures of the several Asiatic detachments are not made clear to us, either by the account of the preparation of the

force (v. 79), or by the details of the battle-array in the present passage. Any critic of the statement, as it stands before us, would observe that the force of Antiochus was superior both in numbers (62,000 against 55,000) and in elephants, as the sequel shows. But it might also be observed that the left wing of the Syrian army, though opposing 19,500 infantry to the Egyptian right of 14,000, was so inferior in quality, and subdivided into so many different nationalities, that anyone would have laid odds upon the superiority of the Egyptian right (only two large bodies of Greeks, and of Galato-Thracians), especially as the Syrian and Egyptian horse at this extreme of the battle were equal in numbers. The only Syrian superiority at this point was 42 Indian elephants against 33 Egyptian. Now we proceed with the narrative.

The rival kings and their retinue then rode along their respective front. And *as both had their greatest hopes in their phalanx-men* [infantry was therefore now again superior to cavalry], they both gave the greatest attention and exhortation to these divisions; on Ptolemy's side Andromachos and Sosibios and the King's sister [not yet his wife], Arsinoe; on Antiochus' side (so I read with the MSS. C, D, E; Hultsch, in his text, prints only $\tau\psi$ $\delta\epsilon$, which is obscure) Theodotos and Nikarchos making the speeches, as they were the respective commanders of the phalanxes on each side. [Of course the king's sister was only a sentimental, but a powerful adjunct]. These discourses were only generalities, as neither king nor army had any distinguished record to boast of. These speeches were delivered partly in person, and partly through interpreters—[a very curious and absurd practice not uncommon in those days of excessive talking. Can we imagine the Duke of Wellington delivering speeches to his Spanish and Portuguese allies through the medium of interpreters?]

When the two kings had reached their respective posts, Ptolemy on his left wing, Antiochus on his right, the battle began by a duel between the elephant forces on the Syrian right. Hardly any of Ptolemy's elephants, being of the inferior Libyan description, would actually meet the Indian elephants face to face. Upon this Polybius gives us a most interesting digression.

"Accordingly, when the African elephants went into disorder and backed into their own troops, the *agema* of Ptolemy, incumbered by these elephants, gave way; and meanwhile Antiochus, riding round his victorious elephants, attacked Polykrates' cavalry (the extreme Egyptian left). At the same time the Greek mercenaries on the Syrian side, being clear of the elephants towards the centre, attacked the peltasts opposed to them, and drove them back, as even these had been disordered by the retreating beasts. So the whole left wing of Ptolemy began to give way (*ἐνέκλινε* seems to imply a loss of ground, but no complete rout).

Echekrates, who occupied the extreme right with his cavalry, and had command of the whole wing, delayed his attack till he saw the result of the action just described. We can easily understand that Antiochus' left wing, which was meant to fight a merely defensive action, leaving the main work to the king on the right wing, made no corresponding advance, thus leaving Echekrates time to make his arrangements. This competent officer, then, "when he saw the dust-cloud moving on towards his side, and that the elephants on his wing would not even come near their opponents—that is, the elephants already in action—sent orders to Phoxidas to attack with his Greek mercenaries [inside the 33 elephants, which were left standing in their original array], and he himself, leading out his cavalry and the troops that were behind the elephants (*ὑπὸ τὰ θηρία*), got outside any attack from the Indian elephants, and, turning the flank of the opposed cavalry, easily defeated it." [I cannot make out the distinction between οὐδ

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μὲν ὑπεραίρων, οἷς δὲ κατὰ κέρας ἐμβάλλων. Both are usually translated by *outflanking*, but Polybius makes a difference. It is not here material to the issue of the battle.] Phoxidas succeeded just as well, and, falling upon the Medes and Arabians, made them bolt in complete flight. So then the right wing of Antiochus was victorious; the left was defeated. "But the phalanxes—both the wings being cleared away on either side—stood untouched on the field, with their chances in the coming contest still undecided. At this crisis, Antiochus was following up his success on his right wing, while Ptolemy, who had retreated behind his phalanx (τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὑπὸ τὴν φάλαγγα πεποιημένος) then coming forward into the midst [προελθὼν εἰς μέσον means, I suppose, that he rode round the rear of his phalanx, and appeared in front of it, that part of the field being now cleared of his foes and quite safe], struck his enemies with alarm, and gave great confidence to his own troops.¹ Wherefore, at once lowering their sarissæ the troops of Andromachos and Sosibios charged. For a short time the choice troops of the Syrians [under Theodotus] stood their ground, but those (I read οἶδε not οἷτε) under Nikarchos speedily gave way and retreated, while Antiochus, being young and without experience, thought all was safe, and was pressing on after the fugitives in his part of the battle. But, at last, when one of the older officers directed his attention to the fact that the dust-cloud was moving from their phalanx back to the Syrian camp, he perceived what had happened, and endeavoured to rush back with the household regiment of cavalry to the battle field. Finding all his own side in flight, he retired to Raphia, deeming himself the victor so far as he was concerned, though, on the whole, defeated by the cowardice of others.

But Ptolemy, having decided the issue by his phalanx (διὰ τῆς φάλαγγος), and having made a great slaughter in

¹ I do not know whether he may not have entered the phalanx, and so appeared in its centre.

the pursuit by means of his cavalry and mercenaries, leisurely spoiled the enemies' dead, and advanced to Raphia. "The losses on Antiochus' side were, in infantry, nearly 10,000, and in horse more than 300 ; the prisoners amounted to more than 4000. Three of his elephants died on the spot, and two of their wounds. Ptolemy's losses were in infantry about 1500, and 700 horse ; of his elephants 16 were killed, and most of them captured."

This last remark is indeed most curious. The defeated side apparently managed to carry off all the victors' elephants which they did not kill ! Polybius might therefore have added to his digression upon these animals that their conflict had hardly any effect upon the battle. For though the defeated elephants were likely to cause disorder in the troops behind them, and so help to lose a battle, it does not seem that the victorious elephants were of any use to charge cavalry, or even infantry. The opposed phalanx seems quite secure from them. What is far more curious is, that the defeated side was able to capture and carry off most of the Egyptian elephants, which were not lost or reconquered by the enemy, even when the Syrian side was wholly defeated.

I now come back to the battle proper. Ptolemy had won a great victory, but so much against his expectation, that ἀσμενίζων ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι προτερήματι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον he granted easy terms. Why was he so surprised ? Because with 55,000 men and 73 bad elephants, he had defeated an enemy with 68,000 men and 102 good elephants. But this is not what we find in our Polybius as it stands. In c. 79, just before the details of Antiochus' armament are given, we are told that Ptolemy advanced with 70,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 73 elephants, while the sum of the Syrian army is as already stated. The narrative of the battle only leaves room for 55,000 Egyptian : where does the discrepancy of 20,000 arise ?

We naturally turn to the account of the arming of Ptolemy's forces (c. 63-6) where we find the following statement. After many diplomatic devices on Ptolemy's side to delay the outbreak of the war, and keep the enemy in the dark—for Egypt is described as utterly unready—we come to the military measures. First, "they collected into Alexandria all the mercenaries (*μισθοφόροι*) whom they had under pay in the cities without" (*ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσιν*). As this cannot refer to Egypt, I take it to mean that, in the many Arsinoes, Philadelphias, &c., which were foreign foundations of the Ptolemies in Hellenistic lands, they kept a certain number of soldiers under pay, perhaps half-pay, on the condition of calling them up for service when required. If this be so, it gives us a reason for those curious foreign foundations additional to that which I have elsewhere suggested (*Greek Life and Thought*, p. 305 sq.). They further sent out recruiting officers (*ξενολόγοι*), and prepared proper supplies of commissariat both for the existing *ξένοι* and those who were to come. I take the difference of *ξένοι* and *μισθοφόροι* to be that the former were forces organized under their own generals, with whom a power treated as an independent whole. The latter were individual workers for the pay of a foreign government, and, though generally organized in separate regiments, had their officers appointed by their paymasters. But I am not aware that the question has yet been examined or settled, and only offer this as a provisional solution.

They then gave the selection of weapons and choice of the various men to five competent officers, Echekrates the Thessalian, Phoxidas the Melitean, Eurylochos the Magnesians, Sokrates the Bœotian, and Knopias the Cretan. All of these commanded in the battle, and may be said to have determined the result. They had learned the business of actual warfare in campaigns under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson, Kings of Macedon, both great men of

war and skilled generals. Thus, to draw a curious historic parallel, the native army of Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet Ali's famous son, which swept the Morea clear of Greeks, and afterwards swept the Turkish armies from Syria, was organized by Napoleonic French officers, exiled in 1814 and 1815, who brought their experience of great European wars under a great general to bear upon the training of Egyptians and Soudanese.

We now come to the action of Ptolemy's five officers upon the natives. Taking in hand the mass of them (τὸ πλῆθος), they handled them like skilful soldiers. Here there follow in our texts the absurd words: *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ γένη καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν διελόντες*, they gave to each their suitable arms, having no regard of their previous appointments, and then they marshalled them suitably to their present purpose, abolishing their regiments (*συστήματα*) and the official lists made out according to the former rations which they had received." The point of the whole thing was that they abolished the old Egyptian organization of the warrior caste (*μάχιμοι*), and their clans (Hermotybies and Kalasiries according to Herodotos ii. 164-166) probably also enrolled natives who were not in the caste, and made the whole body into a Macedonian phalanx. We must therefore read *οὐ κατὰ γένη ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡλικίαν* or something equivalent (*καθ' ἡλικίαν δὲ διελόντες*;) to make sense. We also know from the efforts made by Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, to get his brother appointed to a regiment at Memphis (Brit. Mus. Papyri, vol. I.) that the pay was chiefly in kind (*ὀψώνια*), and that the lists of those receiving rations in this way was the official list of the regiment in that place.

These recruits were then drilled in the use of their new weapons in evolutions, and in understanding the words of command. Two other men, Andromachos the Aspendian, and Polykrates the Argive, were the chief drilling officers,

and the former was even one of the commanders of the phalanx in the battle. Eurylochos commanded what was called the royal agema or household troops, and Sokrates the peltasts (light infantry). Phoxidas and Ptolemy, son of Thraseas (a new personage who here suddenly appears), together with Andromachos, put into training *the phalanx* and the *μισθοφόροι*; and the generals of the phalanx were Andromachos and Ptolemy, of the mercenaries Phoxidas. This does not agree with the account of the battle, for there we are repeatedly told that Andromachos and *Sosibios* led the phalanx. But when we have gone through several other items, which agree perfectly with the subsequent array, and have reached 3000 Libyans dressed in Macedonian fashion, and presently 6000 Galatæ and Thracians who were settled in Egypt, we have this strange

clause: τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πλῆθος ἦν μὲν εἰς ^βΜ φαλαγγίτας, ὑπεράττετο δὲ Σωσιβίῳ. What does this mean? We already have a phalanx of 25,000 commanded by Andromachos and Ptolemy; what room is there for a second phalanx, of which there is no mention whatever in the battle? Nay, rather, the account there makes a second phalanx impossible. For how could the two opposing bodies be evenly matched, and the contest very doubtful, if Antiochos' 20,000 phalangites were opposed by two bodies, amounting to 45,000 men? and in the account of the battle ἡ *φάλαγξ*, *the phalanx* of the Egyptians, is four times specified.

There is no use in adding further objections. The existence of two phalanxes of 20,000 men each in any Hellenistic tactical array is unheard of. How, then, did the error arise in our texts? I believe the first source of it to have been a blunder in copying a number, to my mind the most frequent of all causes of error. In the opening of c. 79 we hear that the army of Ptolemy set out from *Alexan-*

dria, ἔχοντες πεζῶν μὲν εἰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς. In old texts, such as our Fayyûm papyri, it would stand πεζῶν μὲν εἰς \bar{M} , which I take to have been a misreading, or a mistake for \bar{M}^E (50,000), as the account of the battle clearly shows. The narrative in c. 79 then turns to Antiochus, and gives the details of *his* force, which amounted to 62,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants. When some semi-intelligent early editor came to compare this with the details of Ptolemy's army, he found, as I am convinced, that the 73,000 foot were not there, and setting himself to correct the mistake, found that, in the battle, there were two commanders of the phalanx, which led him to think that Sosibios, not mentioned in the earlier details, had a separate command, and so he foisted in the clause "the mass of the Egyptians amounted to 20,000 phalanx-men, and were put under Sosibios' command." This comes in at the wrong place, for the training of the natives and their phalanx was already disposed of, under the command of Andromachos and Ptolemy, son of Thraseas. In the battle, Sosibios and Andromachos command the phalanx, and the corrector seems not to have known that it was the normal thing for every phalanx to have two commanders. So in the battle, Andromachos and Sosibios appear, instead of Andromachos and Ptolemy. This, I think, affords little difficulty. Sosibios was a politician, and practically prime minister; but was strictly an Alexandrian, and an Egyptian subject. He would therefore naturally take formal command of the native troops in battle, though the training had been done by another man. I do not, therefore, propose to substitute his name for that of Ptolemy, where it might be expected (65, 4), ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς μὲν φύλαγος (there is clearly no second phalanx in view) Ἀνδρόμαχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος.

The following, therefore, are the changes I propose in the text :—

c. 64, 1. I read *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ κατὰ γένη ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡλικίαν*, (or *καθ' ἡλικίαν δὲ*) *διελόντες*.

c. 65, 9. *τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰγ.* down to *ὑπεράττετο* must be expunged, as an idle and misleading repetition.

c. 79, 2. I read *πεζῶν μὲν εἰς* ^E *M* for ^x *M*.

These changes reduce the narrative to consistency and to common sense, and make the account of the battle harmonize with the preparations described so minutely.

But I will not deny that there are other reasons for suspecting the accuracy of 64–6. There is complete silence about the elephants, which, in the battle, are even called Libyan, whereas we know, from inscriptions of this very time, that they were Troglodyte, and brought, with great trouble and expense, by way of the Red Sea to Egypt. This side of the Nile is never called Libya in the documents of the day, though it might be called Arabia. Here is another suspicious point. If we compare 65, § 5, “But Polykrates trained the cavalry about the Court (Household cavalry), being about 700, as well as those from Libya, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους*, and he was commander of them all, about 3000 men.” We should know perfectly how to correct this if it stood alone. We have not a single allusion to cavalry among the *μάχιμοι*, or native warrior caste. But we know that cavalry soldiers had long been settled, with their families, through the country, and we should fairly suppose that this was the *local* cavalry intended, not indigenous, and most improperly called native, as opposed to foreign. But when we come to § 10, we find this reasonable interpretation overthrown by the statement, “there was also a force of Thracians and Galatæ brought together, *ἐκ μὲν τῶν κατοίκων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων εἰς Δ*, *οἱ δὲ προσφάτως ἐπισυναχθέντες ἦσαν εἰς Β*, *ὧν ἡγεῖτο Διονύσιος*

ὁ Θραξ. Surely, under the ἐγχώριοι above, we already had these people, known to us in many papyri as κάτοικοι and τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (not, it may be observed, ἐπίγονοι) enumerated.¹ And what is more, though many of them were certainly Thracians, we have no reason to think that any were Galatians, and we *know* that many were Greeks, Cyrenians, Macedonians, &c. To say that the local cavalry, known to us as κάτοικοι and τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, were simply Thracians and Galatæ is therefore quite wrong. We know that Philadelphus destroyed his Galatian condottieri, whom he suspected of a plot to seize the actual sway of Egypt. The Fayyûm papyri of Euergetes' time do not show a single Galatian among the numerous nationalities represented. I am quite ready to admit that the new importations of Philopator for the crisis, οἱ προσφάτως ἐπισυναχθέντες, may have been Galatæ, but κάτοικοι and τῆς ἐπιγονῆς they were not, nor even the class τῶν οὕτω συνηγμένων εἰς ἱππαρχίαν, which we find in the papyri. I think the Galatæ were always foreigners, and μισθοφόροι in Egypt. We know, from a notice of Josephus, that the famous Cleopatra had a guard of 400 of them about her palace in Alexandria, *because they were foreign*, like the Swiss Guard of Louis XVI. of France, or of the Popes till recently; for Augustus, upon her death, made this guard over to King Herod (*Bell. Jud.* I. xx. § 3, *sub fin.*).

I am therefore unable to reconcile these two items, and think there is some serious mistake to be corrected. Furthermore, the official statement of the phalanx gives its numbers at 25,000 (not 20,000), so that when it was

¹ It may be objected that the former force, ἐγχώριοι (2300), were cavalry; the latter, κάτοικοι and τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (4000), were infantry. Such an interpretation, quite consistent with the wording of the passage, would prove Polybius (or his authority) very ignor-

ant of Ptolemaic Egypt. That natives should appear as cavalry, Hellenistic settlers as infantry, would not have been tolerated for an instant. If these settlers were both cavalry and infantry, then to call the cavalry part ἐγχώριος would be equally offensive.

set to fight the phalanx of Antiochus, it had a clear majority, and therefore greater weight; yet this fact is ignored in the account of the battle, and I do not know whether there were not limits to the size of the phalanx, for which 25,000 seems an excessive number.

It has often been remarked, that though no passages in ancient (or indeed in modern) historians are more fascinating than good descriptions of battles, there is hardly any such description known which does not prove incomplete, or obscure, when closely interrogated. Polybius, who sharply criticises the historian Zeno for his absurd account of the battle of Panion, fought by this same King Antiochus against the Egyptian general Scopas, offers no exception to this rule. His description, as we have it, is incoherent; even with the corrections I have introduced, and getting rid of the faults of copyists, it leaves much to be desired.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

SOME POINTS IN THE PENTEKONTAETIA.¹

THE skill and care with which Mr. Hill has executed the task which he set himself, of providing for the use of students a convenient collection of the scattered sources for the Pentekontaetia, will receive, doubtless, due recognition. If one tries to think out for oneself the design of such a work, practical difficulties of arrangement face one in multitudes, and the measure of Mr. Hill's success becomes apparent. To say that the work is not yet perfect is to pass no censure on his learned and dexterous compilation; it is a work which, of its very nature, can only be made perfect by constant use in the lecture-room. Not having myself used it in this way, I will hazard no more than two general criticisms. If convenience is the chief object of the book, the pages ought to be interspersed with dates. It is indeed an essential part of Mr. Hill's design to provide materials only and abstain from drawing inferences, and he may well say that inferences as to the chronology of the period are above all other inferences the most hazardous and uncertain. But he has pushed this principle so far that his book is less convenient for reference than it might be. He would not unduly commit himself if he gave, after each heading, limits of date or alternative dates. In any case there is not the least reason why the year B.C. should not be added in the margin whenever an Olympiad or archonship is mentioned in the text. Few know the archonships by heart, and few

¹ Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. M.A., of the British Museum. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1897. Collected and arranged by G. F. Hill,

think in Olympiads. Mr. Hill, indeed, is not quite consistent in the matter of dates; he gives the year for each list of the tribute quota. But the reader could just as easily look up the archonship of Ariston, on p. 43, as, for instance, the archonship of Tlepolemus, on p. 115, in Mr. Hill's excellent list at the end of the book.

The second suggestion which I venture to make is that Mr. Hill should modify his principle of always omitting the texts of the passages of Herodotus, Thucydides, and the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, to which he refers. He fairly assumes that every student of the period will have these texts at hand, and an immense saving of space is gained by the assumption. Here again we must apply the test of convenience; and it seems to me that, while all long consecutive passages may well be omitted, the short notices ought to be printed out in full. To draw the line would be a nice task which could be safely left to the editor's discretion. And in some other ways, perhaps, space might be saved. It is needless to write out three times the epigram on the battle of the Eurymedon, as it is quoted by Diodorus, Aelian, and the compiler of the Anthology (pp. 95-97). It would be enough to give the variants in a note. And so again with the inscriptions on the herms, which commemorated the victory of Eion (pp. 85-87).

Mr. Hill, needless to say, is thoroughly master of the sources, and his headings and arrangement show, in spite of the reserve which he has imposed upon himself, that he has fully studied the problems which the sources suggest. On two questions I may take this opportunity to say a word.

The "Peace of Kallias"—Mr. Hill points to an unsettled question by his commas of citation—was assuredly a practical reality. The situation shows that an understanding was arrived at between Athens and Persia; the connexion of Callias with the negotiations is a combina-

tion which has everything in its favour. The difficulty which drove some German writers into denying the peace is that Thucydides ignores it in his brief sketch of the Fifty Years, and that the first notices of it are found in Isocrates and Demosthenes. These notices have no precise chronological indication, but the precise account in Diodorus doubtless came from Ephorus, their contemporary. But the case for the peace is technically made out by the fact that, though Thucydides does not mention it where a mention might be expected, he implies the existence of a definite understanding elsewhere (viii. 56, 4—a passage which Mr. Hill omits to cite).¹ Yet the doubts of the sceptics have probably some justification. The peace negotiated by Callias was, we may be sure, no formal treaty. It was not a compact or *συνθήκαι* between two parties—like a treaty between two Greek states. The Great King would never have stooped to treat with Athens and her confederacy as an equal power. To all intents and purposes, a treaty was concluded, but it must have assumed the form of a gracious promise on the part of Artaxerxes to hinder the war-ships of his subjects from sailing in Greek waters, and to take other precautions against the outbreak of hostilities, so long as the Athenians acted in a prescribed way. The king's promise must of course have been committed to writing, but it was a document which was not likely to be set up on the Acropolis or in a public place in Athens, since it represented Athens as the recipient of favours from the barbarian. This may help to explain the mistiness which seems to invest the pacification—not of Cimon, but of Pericles.

Mr. Hill has followed a multitude in throwing together the Argive wars with Tiryns and Mycenae. The two episodes are quite distinct, and should be kept apart under

¹ Cp. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. 1, 353 (ed. 2); Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. 489.

different headings (pp. 292-4); and Pausanias, ii. 16, 5, and v. 23, 3, should be added to the list of passages. There can be no doubt that the recovery of the fort of Tiryns was effected at a different time from the reduction of Mycenae. Busolt may be right in placing the Tirynthian war about B.C. 473-471, but he does not seem to have grasped the fact that Tiryns was held by Argive slaves.¹ Tiryns seems, in truth, to have been only a fortress as distinguished from Mycenae which was a "perioecic" town. The subjugation of Mycenae was accomplished in the time of the Helot rebellion, when the Lacedaemonians were unable to support the Mycenaean (circ. B.C. 463).² The seizure of Tiryns by revolted slaves is represented as a consequence of the annihilating defeat which Argos had endured at the hands of Sparta about four years before the battle of Marathon. The revolt of Mycenae was perhaps another result of the same calamity. But it is possible that Mycenae, which was undoubtedly subject to Argos in the days of Argos' greatness, may have struck a successful blow for independence some years sooner. We can hardly hesitate to see in the Doric temple, which arose on the ruins of the palace of the ancient kings, a monument of liberated Mycenae. This temple is held by architects to belong to the sixth century; but it would be daring to say that these wide limits could not be widened further to include the first fifteen years of the fifth century. But, whatever be the date of Mycenae's liberation, the view which I put forward that it was a free Mycenae which raised the sanctuary upon her citadel is strongly confirmed by the circumstance that the wall round the lower town was built about the same time. This wall has often been ascribed to the Mycenaean age; but the highest

¹ Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 121, note, 122. Herodotus vi. 83.

enables us to correct his formal chronology, the archonship of Theagenides, 464. Cp. Busolt, p. 244.

² This statement of Diodorus, xi. 65,

authority on the date of Greek masonry has ruled it to belong to the same period as the temple. That the wall was not built by the command or with the consent of the Argive government is beyond question. It was built by the Mycenaeans when they threw off the Argive yoke.¹

It would be unfair perhaps to criticise Mr. Hill for omissions, since he professes not to be complete (p. vi). But, when we come upon a subject like the constitution of Argos, of which so little is known, seeing that all the relevant notices put together would hardly fill a page, we might expect none to be omitted. Thus, to those texts which are quoted, there should at least be added: Thucydides v. 37, 5 (and all the scraps of Thucydides, let me urge again, should be printed in full); Euripides, *Orestes*, 871-2 with scholium; *Etymol. Mag.* sub *δημιουργός*: Collitz, *Dial.-Insch.*, iii. 3277 (p. 127). On art especially Mr. Hill is eclectic, with perfect right. But it is hard to see why he should not have included (p. 191) notices of the great bronze statue of Athene. It would have been particularly useful to exhibit by an array of the texts on what flimsy evidence an "elder Praxiteles," a creature of fancy, has been named

¹ The questions connected with Tiryns and Mycenae have been discussed by Professor Mahaffy in a previous number of this journal (3, p. 60 *sqq.*, 277 *sq.*; 1879). I cannot agree with his treatment of the evidence in regard to Mycenae; and as for Tiryns, it is natural to suppose that the Argives kept a garrison in the fortress. This is the implication of the words of Herodotus: *ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τίρυνθα*. The slaves had to take Tiryns by force from the Argive garrison—not from the "Tirynthians," as Mr. Frazer seems to think, Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 631 (note on v. 23, 3). Mr. Mahaffy is right in recognizing that the

Tirynthians who fought at Plataea were a body of those rebel slaves, but I cannot follow him when he takes the slaves to Mycenae. The cases of Tiryns and Mycenae are totally different. The transference of Agamemnon from Mycenae to Argos in the trilogy of Aeschylus is an interesting allusion to the political situation in 459-8. Athens had concluded an alliance with Argos, and the Athenian poet takes occasion to pay a compliment to the new ally, fresh from the demolition of Mycenae. We might indeed go further, and say that Aeschylus, at this moment, was at pains to avoid reviving the mythical glories of the rival which Argos had mercilessly crushed.

as the artist of this anonymous work. Furtwängler operates with the elder Praxiteles;¹ and, strange to relate, Busolt accepts him. The scholiast on Aristides (*Panathen.* 3, p. 320) is called by Busolt *eine gut unterrichtete Quelle*; but his sources may not have been all equally good; and, when he says that the bronze Athene was the work of Praxiteles, manifestly meaning the famous Praxiteles, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he took his information from a source which spoke of another Praxiteles. With our present evidence, the only permissible criticism is that the scholiast made an elementary blunder; and there is, after all, nothing surprising in a nameless commentator's ascription of a famous statue to a famous artist who was not alive when it was wrought. Reduplication of persons is a resort which sober criticism ought ruthlessly to eject from its methods.

J. B. BURY.

¹ Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik, p. 53.

THE PHILEBUS OF PLATO.¹

ALTHOUGH in the notes to this edition the functions of the classical editor are carefully discharged, yet the primary purpose of the book seems to be philosophical; and the Introduction bears this character almost throughout. Mr. R. G. Bury has read the Clarke MS. for the text of the Philebus. He gives a brief account, derived from Schanz, Wohlrab, and Jordan, of Platonic MSS. in general. As to the chronological position of the Philebus among the works of Plato, he states the conclusions, among others, of Dittenberger, Schanz, Siebeck, Ritter, and Peipers, philosophical investigators "whose results are more interesting than their method." These results, however, have, for Mr. Bury, considerable importance. The researches of the philologists "forbid us to accept such an account of the development of Plato's thought as that given by Zeller." Of course our editor is thoroughly acquainted with Mr. Jackson's articles. In footnotes to his Introduction he barely mentions Lutoslawski and Campbell. It was, perhaps, unfortunate that the work of the former on "The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic" had not appeared soon enough for Mr. Bury to have read it before going to press. It is a strikingly valuable contribution to the study of Plato, bringing "stylometry" into the service of chronology,

¹ Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by Robert Gregg Bury, M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Bishop

Berkeley Fellow of the Owens College, Manchester. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1897 (pp. lxxxvii-224).

and giving, for perhaps the very first time, a lucid sketch of the meaning and development of Plato's philosophy as a whole. The portion of Mr. Bury's Introduction concerned with philology is brief, and contains nothing for which he claims originality. It is merely sufficient to indicate the lines on which Platonic research has, during recent times, been mainly proceeding.

As to the position held by the Platonic Ideas in the *Philebus*, our editor (Introd., pp. lxiv *seqq.*) reviews the theories of his predecessors. To Dr. Jackson's view that the Ideas are discoverable in τὸ μικτόν he objects (p. lxvi):—"If the Ideas are absolute, independent principles, how can we place them in the μικτόν, which, of all the four classes, possesses in the least degree the character of a principle? If the Ideas are οὐσίαι and ὄντως ὄντα, how can we fairly refer them to the class described as γένεσις εἰς οὐσίαν (26 D), or μικτὴ καὶ γεγεννημένη οὐσία (27 B)?" Mr. Bury compares Tocco's conclusions with those of Jackson, and dwells (quite naturally) on the bewildering effect of the various opinions, each in its way plausibly maintained, respecting the Idealism of the *Philebus*. While agreeing with Jackson and Tocco as to the lateness of this dialogue, he hesitates to admit that the Idealism of the later dialogues either conflicts with, or greatly differs from, that of the earlier—the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*. Granting that the *Parmenides* and *Philebus* initiate a re-statement, if not an actual modification, of the previously published Ideal theory, he is loth to grant that Plato's latest works contain anything revolutionary—anything amounting to a rejection of the peculiarly transcendent form of Idealism with which, according to the tradition of centuries, Platonism has been identified. Yet he gives a qualified assent (p. lxx) to the conclusions of those who invoke the authority of Aristotle in evidence of this change. "Without trespassing far

on the debatable ground of Aristotle's critique of Platonism, we may agree at least that some importance should be ascribed to the statements in such passages as *Met.* A. 6, M. 9, &c., where a Pythagorising tendency is noted as attaching to some phase, if not the whole course, of Plato's Idealism. However we may explain the statement that there are 'elements' in the Ideas, and that these elements are identical with those which compose the 'real' world, or the statement that Ideal Numbers were posited and derived from the One and the Indefinite Dyad, it is, I think, a fair supposition that such statements indicate the general direction of the later developments of Plato's thought. And such a view of the matter has the additional merit of helping to explain the further modification, ending in virtual dissolution, which the Platonic philosophy suffered at the hands of Plato's Academic successors. Accordingly, it appears reasonable to follow those critics who find in later Platonism, if not in earlier, an express attribution of multiplicity to the Ideal, as well as Real, world. And we shall hardly go wrong if we acknowledge that the metaphysical core of the discussion in the *Philebus* is that announced in p. 15 A, namely the possibility of the co-existence of Plurality in the Ideal 'Henads.'" In this statement of the case for the later development of Plato's doctrine of Ideas by its author, our editor certainly does not go beyond the truth. We fail, indeed, to understand his hesitation to accept, more freely and fully than he does, the theory that there is in Plato's latest works an approximation to the standpoint of Aristotle. Aristotle became the *σωφρονιστής*, or moderator, of the Idealism of Plato. The Ideas of the one passed into the Universals of the other. It is significant of this that the word *εἶδη*, which plays so prominent a part in Plato's earlier dialogues, tends more and more in his later works to recede and give place to

the word γένη : transcendent "entities" making way for "categories," as he gradually (perhaps under the influence of his pupil's criticism) saw the need of conciliating philosophy with science, the world of Ideas with the world of Things.

Ὀυσία being a synthesis of opposites, we naturally expect, Mr. Bury admits (p. lxxi), "to find the Real explained, in the Philebus, not as one member of an antithesis, but rather as a synthesis." This, however, would not justify us in placing the Ideas in the "mixed class." "For," says our editor, "though it may be true that the Ideas do belong to a μικρόν, and are composed by a Mixture, yet it is hardly possible to connect the μικρόν described in the text with Ideal products." He refuses to find the Ideas (with Brandis) in the πέρας : nor can he find them in the αἰρία. By a train of reasoning which starts from the assertion that αἰρία—the τέταρτον γένος of the dialogue (23 D)—*seems to have been introduced as an afterthought*, he discovers the Ideas in a μικρόν, indeed, but not in that in which Jackson places them. "The truth seems to be that the classification starts with being universal and all-comprehensive in scope, intended to embrace all possible objects of all the sciences; but, in the course of its development, its immediate application and illustration is confined to the lower, or phenomenal, sphere. And an indication of this change of method, this narrowing of scope, may, perhaps, be discerned in the way in which the Fourth Class, the Cause of Mixture, is introduced into the discussion. For it appears distinctly as an afterthought, as something not provided for in the original scheme. Now if the scheme were originally intended to explain material existence only, the original omission of Cause would be, indeed, surprising: but if the original intention included the explanation of Ideal reality, in common with that of material existence, then

it may be possible to see some grounds for the original omission of Cause. And such grounds would appear if we could establish that the Ideal sphere is wholly analogous to the Phenomenal sphere, except that it is uncaused, or, in other words, if we could show that precisely the same principles may be traced in the one sphere as in the other, with the single exception that we cannot ascribe the Reality of the Ideas to any external Cause.

"Now, if this line of thought be justifiable, we arrive by it at a quite different standpoint from which to examine the Classification. Excluding the last class (*αἰρία*) as inapplicable to the self-caused, self-governed realm of the Ideas, we shall apply it to the scheme of the First Three Classes only. And then it will follow that the Ideas belong to the *μικτόν*, and are thus analysable into *πέρας* and *ἄπειρον*: which conclusion will admirably square with the Aristotelian statements cited above. But it must be carefully noticed that this result, though legitimately extracted from the text, is not explicitly conveyed therein—that it depends on the analogy existing between the Ideal and Phenomenal spheres—and that it depends also on the exclusion from view of the last Genus, *αἰρία*: and consequently, the reader must be careful not to confuse the present speculation, whatever it be worth, with Jackson's very definite identification of the Ideas with certain members of the *μικτόν* class." . . . "We must refuse to identify the Ideas directly with any one of the four Classes as foreign to the method pursued by the author; though we may admit that a certain aspect of Ideal reality may be discovered in the last Class, when carefully interpreted" (pp. lxxiii-iv).

This theory of the Ideas in the Philebus, as belonging to a *μικτόν* which is not that mentioned in the dialogue but analogous to it, rests wholly, as the above quotation shows, upon the assertion that "the Fourth Class, the

Cause of Mixture, appears distinctly as an afterthought, not provided for in the original scheme." Unhappily, however, this Fourth Class is found in the very first draft of the said scheme (23 D), coming after the first three classes or γένη, without interval or digression, fourteen lines from the point at which the classification begins. If the αἰρία were introduced first at 26 E, where reference to it is resumed, something might be said for the "afterthought" hypothesis; but even there ἔφαμεν shows that it is no afterthought, and that the writer had this, as well as the other γένη, in a clear *conspectus* before his mind from the beginning. However ingenious the editor's speculation is, we are therefore dispensed from the necessity of considering it any further; though the alleged *analogy* between the Ideal and Phenomenal spheres—in spite of the admitted fact that the reality of Ideas (unlike that of Phenomena) is not to be ascribed to any external cause—is in itself enough to challenge criticism. The notion that the introduction of αἰρία into the classification was an afterthought appears due to a lapse of memory: for we fail to understand how anyone with the text open before him, or with a clear recollection of its contents from 23 to 26, could have entertained this notion.

The above hypothesis seems, however, to be connected with a peculiarity in our editor's "Exposition of the Ontology" (p. xli), which commences thus:—"The Ontology proper, in which πάντα τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί are divided into three classes of πέρας, ἄπειρον, and μικρόν, is contained in 23 C-26 E." Why "three classes"? The Fourth Class is, as we have said, introduced into the very first draft of the scheme of classification (23 D), and our editor (in the sections of his Introduction next preceding and succeeding his exposition of the Ontology) mentions the Fourth Class as there defined. *E.g.*, the opening words of section iii are:—"The Fourth principal class of

things is stated in 23 D to be *ἡ αἰρία τῆς ξυμμιξέως*” (p. xliv). It cannot be fairly urged that his suppression here of the Fourth Class (*αἰρία*) is justified by his having reserved it for discussion in his exposition of the Aetiology, for it is itself categorised by Plato in the text (23 C–D) among *τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί*, where we read *τίθει μοι πρὸς τρισὶν ἐκείνοις τέτατον τοῦτο*. This enumeration of *αἰρία* as such among *τὰ ὄντα* is Plato’s own; and, however much it calls for remark or censure, the duty of an expositor is, first of all, to represent the facts as they are, postponing his own constructive interpretation of them. Here our editor’s interpretation of Plato’s Ontology is, to some extent, substituted for the Ontology itself; and this interpretation, since it excludes *ἡ αἰρία τῆς ξυμμιξέως* from the place given to it by Plato among *τὰ ὄντα*, is inadmissible by a Platonist; though the feature in which it sins against Plato is perhaps one which should commend it to a disciple of Kant or Hegel. This salient point in our editor’s treatment of *Philebus* 23 C to 26 E—his constant, or frequent, reference to the division of *γένη* as three-fold instead of four-fold, and his regarding the fourth *γένος* as introduced by an afterthought—is so strange that, for confirmation of what we have above said respecting it, we must refer our readers to the text itself, and to the editor’s *Introd.*, pp. xli–xliv and lxxiii.

In *Introd.* V. he treats of “The Good” as it appears in the *Philebus*. Commentators, we may here observe, have been too prone to suppose that Socrates, in this dialogue, at first identifies *φρόνησις* with *ἀγαθόν*. The appearance of his doing so seems to have arisen from the fact that the *Philebus*, like some other dialogues, represents the second stage in a conversation or argument which had been for some time already in progress. What course the *λόγος* is dramatically assumed to have taken in the first stage we can only conjecture. But Socrates must have

strenuously defended the cause of φρόνησις v. ἡδονή, contending for the former with all his dialectical power. In maintaining that φρόνησις was better than ἡδονή, he would inevitably have been understood to claim that it was the *summum bonum*; because he had argumentatively disparaged ἡδονή as against φρόνησις, it would have seemed to his auditors that he regarded the former as something worthless or bad. Such is the unfortunate nature of arguments that one can hardly argue at all without exaggerating. The so-called truths made out, when the heat of debate is over, are, mostly, only half-truths at best, often unsatisfactory even to him who has "proved" them, and still more so to the lookers-on whose passions have not been enlisted in the wordy contest, and who more readily see, or rather feel, the inadequacy of the conclusions with which it has terminated. The case φρόνησις v. ἡδονή may, for the purpose of the Philebus, be supposed to have, in the dialogue which went before, reached this stage; the aim of the Philebus itself being to support and amplify the relatively incomplete truths already arrived at, admitting and explaining the imperfections necessarily adhering to them, and completing them by exhibiting their connexion with larger and more concrete truths. It does not follow that because φρόνησις is good as compared with ἡδονή that it is the whole good, or that ἡδονή *per se* is intrinsically bad. Both belong to the plan of nature, or at least of human nature; and Plato, in the Philebus, begins, as soon as possible, to show that the highest good must take account of both. The important point for a philosophic commentator to notice is that *nowhere in this dialogue itself does Socrates maintain that φρόνησις is THE Good*. His first statement (11 B) of the case *now* at issue is: "Philebus maintains that τὸ χαίρειν is *good*: Socrates, that τὸ φρονεῖν, &c., are *better*, and that to partake in the latter is, for all those

capable of so doing, ὠφελιμώτατον." This does not mean, as Poste says, that τὸ φρονεῖν, &c., are τὰγαθόν, absolutely the Best, "a position which," Poste adds, "is afterwards abandoned." The ὠφέλιμον is the *useful* or *expedient*. Nowhere in Plato or Aristotle does it mean the *Good*. Here it implies that τὸ φρονεῖν is the *condicio sine quâ non* of τὰγαθόν; in other words, that the highest good is a *rational* good, the truly Platonic and Aristotelean doctrine. In thus stating the case, Socrates, while vindicating its true position for φρόνησις in human ethics, does not deny that ἡδονή is *a* good. The Antisthenic dictum, μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθεῖην, would, to Socrates, have seemed insane. Here the suggestion that φρόνησις is the true and sufficient good is, in the very first chapter, mentioned only to be dismissed. Socrates, having stated the question as above, at once proceeds (11 D)—τί δ' ἂν ἄλλη τις κρείττων τούτων φανῇ; "What if there shall be found a conception of the good better than either φρόνησις or ἡδονή?" To the exposition of this conception, in its human and divine significance, the whole force of the λόγος is afterwards devoted. Socrates nowhere says anything to make one doubt that, in his opinion, for sentient creatures (ζῷα) incapable of φρόνησις, ἡδονή might be the good. For men or rational animals, however, ἡδονή to be ἀγαθόν must be qualified and conditioned by φρόνησις, μνήμη, &c., otherwise it is (what *we* should call) a mere abstraction.

Another point connected with the above deserves attention here. Whenever Socrates, in this dialogue, refers to ἅλλα ζῷα, or to τὰ φντά, as possessing or desiring τὰγαθόν, he does so *only on the hypothesis of their being capable of it*. For example (22 B), he says:—ἦν γὰρ ἂν ἰκανὸς καὶ τέλειος καὶ πᾶσι καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζῴοις αἰρετὸς, οἷσπερ δυνατόν ἦν οὕτως αἰεὶ διὰ βίον ζῆν. The spaced words contain the hypothesis. Such are but *apparent* generalisations made for the sake

of emphasis, and do not imply that Socrates really extended the ἀγαθόν beyond the sphere of *rational*—in other words of *human*—beings. The addition of καὶ φυτοῖς, limited as it is by οἷσπερ δυνατόν, &c., virtually adds nothing to the extent of the terms ὅσαπερ αὐτῶν δυνατόν μεταλαβεῖν, and δυνατόις μετασχεῖν (11 C). Hence the editor's remark (Intro., p. lx)—“A larger consideration is involved with some apparent inconsistency, for one of the three marks of the Good is stated to be Desirability for *all* plants and animals (22 B). This I take to be a subtle indication, &c., &c.”—seems at least superfluous.¹

According to our editor (Intro., p. lxi), “it would appear that [in the Philebus] the whole discussion [of the Good] is reduplicated. The three allied questions concerning (a) the Good Life, (b) the Good as Cause, and (c) the relations of reason and pleasure thereto are first discussed in the earlier portion of the dialogue (11 B–31 A), and then discussed all over again, in the same order, in the later portion (31 B to end).” This statement Mr. Bury makes as final; but he cannot have regarded it as satisfactory. Such mere reduplication was hardly to have been expected by one who believes in Plato's power of conducting a discussion methodically; and further consideration of the course taken by the λόγος will, we venture to assert, warrant a wholly different view. In the argument

¹ In addition to that above cited, the following are, we believe, all the passages of the Philebus in which the ἀγαθόν seems to be extended to infra-human creatures: 20 D; 21 C; 31 D; 32 A, E; 35 D, E; 36 B; 43 B; 60 A, C; 67 B. In all these there are clear indications (such as the ἡμῖν, ἡμῶν of 21 D, the πάντας of 60 A, &c.) that the extension is only hypothetical or apparent, and that the Good of men, or any creatures possessed

of similar capacity, is all that is before the speaker's thoughts. In 67 B, where Socrates, in his triumph, declares ἡδονή to come fifth, even though all βόες, &c., claimed the primacy on its behalf, we have only a rhetorical flourish, the pith of which is that the *instinctive* pursuit of τὸ χαλεπὸν by the lower animals must not be allowed to outweigh the *rational* devotion of man to a higher good.

for *φρόνησις* *versus* *ἡδονή* as coefficients of *τάγαθόν* there seems to be, throughout the dialogue, a steady progress or development, the stages of which may be broadly outlined as follows:—

I. The *λόγος* at first treats the two opponents, *ἡδονή* and *φρόνησις*, as little more than names, *i.e.* in their most abstract form, that in which they usually (*now*, as well as in Plato's time) present themselves to the minds of unphilosophical reasoners who ring changes upon mere words. Protarchus is refuted negatively, or reduced, as he himself phrases it, *εἰς ἀφασίαν*, by its being shown that *ἡδονή*, taken by itself, is neither *τέλειον*, nor *ικανόν*, nor *αἰρετόν* (21 D–22 E). This conclusion, so surprising to him, has been proved from his own lips: for, being appealed to under the Protagorean law that each man is the measure of all truths, especially truths of *feeling*, he has been forced to admit that for him the *ἡδονή*, which he neither knows nor remembers, &c., far from being the good thing it seemed, is really *nothing at all*. This purely subjective, or Protagorean, criterion is sufficient to overthrow the abstract position taken up by Protarchus in the first stage of the argument. The life of *mere ἡδονή* being valueless, Protarchus now comes over to the side of Socrates so far as to allow that the truly good life must be *ὁ ξυναμφοτέρος βίος*, or one in which *ἡδονή* is inseparably related to *φρόνησις*. While granting, however, that *ἡδονή per se* has been thus overthrown, he insinuates that *φρόνησις*, also, if taken *per se*, would have been similarly defeated. *Ἐμφρόνως οὐκ ἀντεποιεῖτο τῶν νικητηρίων* [sc. *ἡ φρόνησις*]: “it was shrewd of it not to claim the prize” (23 A). *Φρόνησις*, he maintains, is, at least, *no better* than *ἡδονή*. The second stage of the *λόγος* is thus ushered in.

II. This second stage deprives Protarchus of the power of claiming equality for *ἡδονή* as compared with *φρόνησις*.

It is now shown that, taking ἡδονή and φρόνησις in their notional or still abstract form, the one is related to the ἄπειρον, the other to the αἰτία, which, introducing πέρας into the ἄπειρον, constitutes for ἡδονή its *ratio essendi*. Without the αἰτία (to which νοῦς is akin) ἡδονή would remain for ever in the limbo of the ἄπειρον, a mere non-entity, an unrealisable, and therefore unenjoyable, "abstraction" (26 E-30 E). Protarchus' humorous insinuation that Socrates had kept φρόνησις out of the lists because of its want of superiority to ἡδονή is hereby invalidated. The dissection of notions which constitutes the ontological βάσανος of ἡδονή and the second stage of the λόγος, demonstrates, on the contrary, the *controlling* or *determining* function of νοῦς in the constitution of that μικτόν or concrete reality into which ἡδονή and φρόνησις both enter. Hitherto, we must now remark, ἡδονή has been compared with φρόνησις, but of λυπή nothing, or scarcely anything (and that only incidentally, 27 E-28 A), has been said. Yet the question of ἡδονή *v.* φρόνησις cannot be decided, or seriously argued, without taking account of λύπη; and we know, from the Phaedo and elsewhere, that the twinship of these two—ἡδονή and λύπη—in the life of feeling was a fact of experience by which Plato had been most profoundly impressed. Only abstraction—the necessary device of imperfect reasoning—could treat ἡδονή separately from λύπη. Such separation is only provisional. In the next stage of the λόγος it is superseded.

III. In this third stage (31 C *seqq.*) ἡδονή is considered in the concrete, in its natural relationship to λύπη. Life is not made up of thought and pleasure merely; to these it adds pain. Thus, in proceeding from stage I. to stage III. of the λόγος, we have passed from the stage of *greatest abstraction* in the use of the terms ἡδονή and φρόνησις to that (from the individual standpoint) of *least abstraction*. This concrete consideration of the ethical question is

psychological ; but, like every sound psychological discussion, it is conducted according to guiding principles not themselves derived from psychology. The argument of stage I., showing that *ἡδονή per se* is nothing, deserves to be regarded as, in its essence, epistemological. It proves that, without *thought* as presupposition, no valid theory of the Real or of the Good, hedonistic or other, is possible. The progress of the *λόγος* is marked clearly stage by stage as it advances from the more to the less abstract ; while the conclusions of each preceding are not only required but used in each succeeding stage. The reduction (by subjective appeal) of Protarchus' (at first) coarse and unthinking hedonism to silence, and the objective proof (or proof of notions) that *φρόνησις*, as akin to the *αἰτία*, is superior to *ἡδονή*, are useful, not only each for its immediate purpose, but as a preparation, the one for the other ; and both together clear the ground for the long and arduous disquisition which occupies the third, or psychological, stage of the argument. Still this third stage is confined to the discussion of the good for man *quâ* individual : his pleasures and pains and his *φρόνησις* are, for the time, looked on as if all in all. But the absolutely Highest Good, though in it *each* man may participate, is something far greater than the Good of and for each man. At an early period in the dialogue Socrates had distinguished, *en passant*, between *his* own *νοῦς* and a *θεῖος νοῦς* (22 C). There is a higher *ἀγαθόν* than that of the merely individual human being, and a conception of it has still to be framed.

IV. The framing of this conception seems to be the special purpose of the fourth stage of the *λόγος*. The absolutely Highest Good includes the good for man *quâ* individual : but it includes more than this, and its conception is to be determined in accordance with universal, no longer merely individual, criteria. In the *first* stage of

the λόγος the question of ἡδονή v. φρόνησις as the good was left to be decided by the subjective *feeling* of Protarchus. In the *second* it was withdrawn from the decision of feeling, and was considered in the light of four elementary *notions*; essential, indeed, as guides of thought, but abstract in a very high degree. In the *third* it was debated on the ground of concrete, yet individual, life, and living experience. In the *fourth*, the question whether pleasure is the good having been already practically settled in the negative, its ultimate rank has to be determined: its position, not merely in the good for each man but in the universal good. The criteria, or standards, by which the final question is decided (65 A *seqq.*), κάλλος, ξυμμετρία (or μετριότης), and ἀλήθεια, are widely different from those applied in stage I.—τὸ ἱκανόν, τὸ αἰρετόν, and τὸ τέλειον. The latter are merely, or chiefly, subjective and particular in their application (cf. 21 A, Soc., οὐκοῦν ἐν σοὶ πειρώμεθα βασανίζοντες ταῦτα: Prot. πάνυ μὲν οὖν). The former are objective and universal. The standards—the τρεῖς ἰδέαι—by which the conception of the good is ultimately fixed, are Plato's highest moral categories; κάλλος, or the idea which expresses the good in its relationship to Feeling; ξυμμετρία (or μετριότης) that which expresses the same good in its relationship to Science (the type of which for Plato is geometry); ἀλήθεια, or that in which both the others meet; the good of Feeling and the good of Science finding their higher unity in all-comprehensive truth, the good of Philosophy. By this effort at the determination of the good in all its aspects, as *pleasure*, as *science*, and as *philosophic truth*, Plato has endeavoured to solve his problem in the most concrete, and therefore complete, manner. The fourth stage is intended to include, while it amplifies, the results previously obtained. For a conscious summation of such results see 60 D *seqq.*, where the subjective κρίσις of stage

I. is again employed; 61 B, where the notional *κρίσις* of stage II. is repeated; 61 C, where the more concrete conclusions arrived at in stage III. are recapitulated, and the elements of true pleasure, thus ascertained, are spoken of as ingredients "ready for mixing." The final *κρίσις* (which takes the form of a *κρᾶσις*) follows in part IV. Such appears to be the progress of the *λόγος*. There are some episodical passages (*e.g.* the argument against *ἡδονή* as *γένεσις* (53 C-55 C)), but the procedure, as a whole, leaves upon our minds the impression we have described.

Our editor (Introd., pp. li-lii) vindicates Plato against Aristotle, who "asserts that the former fails to postulate more than two causes, the formal and the material." The well known passage, *Met.* A, 6, 988^a, 7, has been the subject of so much controversy that we hesitate to discuss it here. The words of Aristotle, however (*φανερὸν ὅτι δυοῖν αἰτίαι ἐστὶ μόνον κεχρημένος*), do not mean that Plato "fails to postulate," but that he fails to employ, final and efficient causes, so as to give them an organic position in his System of Ideas. Aristotle's complaint against his master's earlier idealism was that it gave no real basis for any except formal causation, no justification for the teleology which, in the *Timæus* and other late works, Plato was fain to construct. If his theology assumed God as *Demiourgos*, as efficient and designing cause, his philosophy did not justify him in so doing. In this complaint against Plato Aristotle was morally justified, if—as was probably the fact—his knowledge of his master's idealism was virtually limited to what he had learned of it while attending that master's lectures. After he had left Plato the latter's views had matured; but the works in which these matured views found expression failed, in all likelihood, to impress Aristotle so deeply as Plato's earlier teaching had impressed him, conveyed, as it had been, by an immediate personal influence which

must have been magical. These later works would naturally have seemed to Aristotle to be at variance with Plato's accustomed teaching, while the developments of this teaching which tended to justify metaphysical teleology were, at most, imperfectly known to Plato's pupil, who, moreover, had now become a critic with instincts antagonistic to his master. But, granting that Aristotle had, with some degree of appreciation, followed the later developments of his master's thinking, he would still have missed in it, owing to its want of explicitness, that vindication of the basis of efficient causation and design which appeared to him so necessary, and which, in his *Metaphysics*, Book XI., 6, 1071^b 6 *seqq.* he endeavoured to supply. There, in a passage which somewhat resembles Kant's metaphysical exposition of the "forms of intuition," Aristotle presents us with a sort of deduction of the conceptions of *κίνησις* and *χρόνος*, without some *transcendent* vindication of which efficient causation and teleology are, as he saw, in the last resort, hopeless. We do not say that his deduction is successful; but that he attempted it proves him to have understood one essential condition of the task which he immediately afterwards undertakes—a demonstration of the existence of God as an efficient and designing Cause. Without such preliminary vindication of the conceptions of *κίνησις* and *χρόνος*, the theory of a Demiourgos set forth in the *Timæus* must have seemed to Aristotle to be baseless; so that, from his standpoint, he was right in condemning Plato, not, however, for not "postulating" efficient and final causes (which Plato did), but for postulating these causes without an attempt at metaphysical justification on the Principles of his own Idealism. Plato seems to have been long unaware of the barriers raised by his earlier theory of ideas in the way of a teleological theology. This theory had made *formal* causation all in all: or, if the material element remained, this was because it had

proved too stubborn to be rationalised and resolved. To put the case briefly, Plato, if he continued to stand by his earlier Idealism, should have rejected teleology as decisively as it was rejected by Spinoza. But his whole mind seems to have leaned towards it, and this leaning grew more pronounced the longer he lived and the more he reflected. In favour of his predilection, he postulates, he dogmatises, he demands and exercises belief. Towards the end of the Sophistes (265 B-D), a striking confession of *faith* appears, which is enough to show Plato's personal devotion to teleological theology. In this passage Theaetetus is made to say that while he gazes on the countenance of the inspired stranger from Elea, and hears his eloquent vindication of philosophy, he *cannot help* believing, despite speculative difficulties, in "an *intelligent Author of Nature*."¹ In the Philebus (28 D) similar belief is professed by Socrates' opponent, Protarchus, with no less warmth of conviction than by Socrates himself, in a "*Natural Governor of the World*." "Wide is the difference" (says Protarchus) "in favour of that view which places Νοῦς in charge of the universe; never would I hold any other view than this."² It is needless to refer

¹ ΉΕ. Ζῶα δὲ πάντα θνητὰ καὶ φυτὰ, ὅσα τ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκ σπερμάτων καὶ ῥιζῶν φύεται καὶ ὅσα ἄψυχα ἐν γῇ ξυνίσταται σώματα τηκτὰ καὶ ἄτηκτα, μὲν ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ θεοῦ δημιουργοῦντος φήσομεν ὅστερον γίγνεσθαι πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα; ἢ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματι καὶ ῥήματι χρώμενοι;

ΘΕΑΙ. Πόλις;

ΉΕ. τῶν φύσιν αὐτὰ γεννᾶν ἀπὸ τινος αἰτίας αὐτομάτης καὶ ἄνευ διανοίας φυσούσης· ἢ μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἐπιστήμης θείας ἀπὸ θεοῦ γιγνομένης;

ΘΕΑΙ. Ἐγὼ μὲν ἴσως διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν πολλάκις ἀμφοτέρα μεταδοξάζω· νῦν μὲν βλέπων εἰς σέ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνων

οἶεσθαί σε κατὰ γε θεὸν αὐτὰ γίγνεσθαι, ταύτη καὶ αὐτὸς νερόμικα.

² ΣΩ. πότερον, ὦ Πρωτάρχε, τὰ ξύμπαντα καὶ τόδε τὸ καλούμενον ὄλον ἐπιτροπεύειν φῶμεν τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ εἰκῇ δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ὅπῃ ἔτυχεν, ἢ τὰναντία, καθάπερ οἱ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν ἔλεγον, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν τίνα θαυμαστήν συντάττουσαν διακυβερεῖν;

ΠΡΩ. οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὦ θαυμάσιε Σώκρατες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σὺ νῦν δὴ λέγεις, οὐδ' ὅσιον εἶναι μοι φαίνεται, τὸ δὲ νοῦν πάντα διακοσμεῖν αὐτὰ φάναι . . . ἄξιον, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγ' ἂν ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν εἴποιμι οὐδ' ἂν δοξάσαιμι.

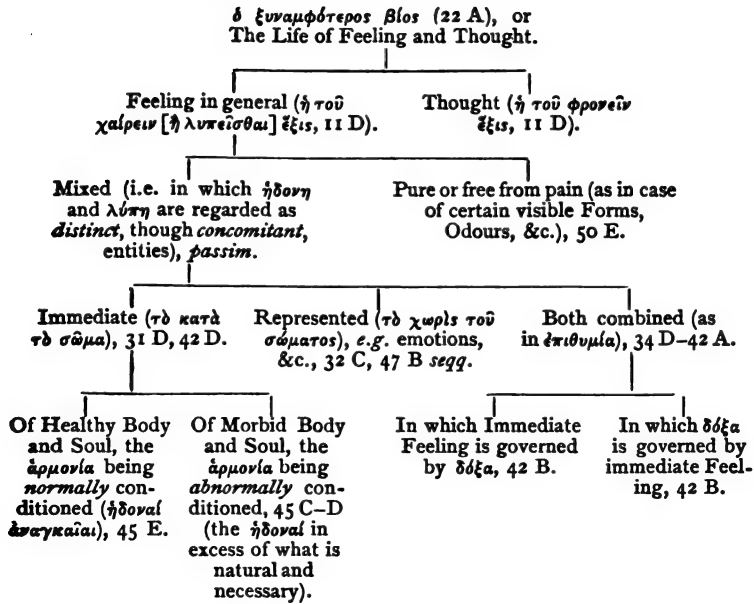
to the *Timæus* and *Laws* for evidence that Plato's proclivity for teleological theology, proved or not proved, justified or not, by his earlier idealism, increased as he grew older; but his perception of the due logical preparation for such teleological theology was not quickened in the same proportion. If, indeed, he could have retraced his steps and replanned his philosophy, he would doubtless have laid a surer foundation for those beliefs in which it finds, or seeks, its culmination. Apparently he at last felt the need of modifying his earlier timeless, motionless, changeless Idealism, and did, in a sporadic way, all he could to bring it into harmony with the theological beliefs with which it logically conflicted. There are, in the *Philebus* and elsewhere, indications that he had ceased to exclude τὸ ὕστερον καὶ πρότερον from his conception of the Ideal; and that he had begun to look with unwonted indulgence on the once despised πολλά. He had come to feel that the Idealism which got rid of time by abolishing change (κίνησις) was incapable of explaining the efficient causation of God; that the Idealism which had got rid of all *particular* interests—all objects for which a person can strive—by abolishing τὰ πολλά, was not one on which a genuine teleology could be founded. Efficient Causation and Design (if objective facts and not illusions which vanish when looked at *sub specie aeternitatis*) require the admission, in some form, of the objectivity of time and change. Kant practically admits this when he postulates the immortality of the soul in order that, in obedience to the moral law, man may continually, if only asymptotically, approach the goal of virtue. Such an admission is inconsistent with Kant's critical view of Time, and the inconsistency tells both against the view and against the argument for immortality. But it illustrates what we have said, that he who seeks to establish a genuine teleology must grant that Time and Change are something more than

merely subjective forms of intuition. If Plato did not *perceive* this with the intellectual clearness of his pupil, he occasionally shows that he *felt* it strongly; and such obscure feeling must be reckoned among the causes of his tardy approximation to the standpoint of that pupil.

Strangely enough, our editor (Intro. p. lii.) regards Aristotle's Theology as a "lapse from pantheism into deism." If, as we may assume, Mr. Bury ascribes pantheism to Plato, we would ask him how a logical pantheism could be consistent with philosophical belief in a Δημιουργός? Unless personality can be assigned to this Δημιουργός, his design and causal efficiency are but words without signification. Aristotle, seeing this, first vindicates (after his fashion), the eternity of κίνησις and χρόνος, and then sets himself to establish the personal conception of God, as νόησις νοήσεως, rejecting the doctrine of a First Cause who should be ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ὁ καθεύδων 1074^b 18—eternally unconscious. To Aristotle the Δημιουργός of the Timæus—an intelligent efficient cause, incapable (according to Plato's earlier Idealism) of producing κίνησις, and eternally unconscious—must have seemed a self-contradictory being, a nonentity. Mr. Bury, defending Plato against the charge of having employed only *formal* and *material* causes, argues that he postulated final and efficient causes as really as did Aristotle himself; but in the same connexion condemns Aristotle for lapsing into deism from the pantheism of his master. Now, one cannot attribute to Plato the theology of pantheism, and at the same time credit him with, or, at least, justify him for, making these postulates. If Plato was a pantheist, what becomes of his reiterated confession of faith in a personal divine providence? If he was not a pantheist, where is the lapse of which Aristotle was guilty? If the theology of the Timæus was pantheism, why, indeed, may not that of *Met.* xi. also have been pantheism? If, on the other hand, Plato, as really as

Aristotle, held the metaphysical doctrine of final and efficient causation, then Plato himself was a deist, not a pantheist.

The editor's introduction must, when one considers the extreme difficulty of the problems with which it undertakes to deal, be regarded as a very creditable performance. Perhaps the most arduous of these problems is that arising from the *desultoriness* of the Philebus as a composition. Its μεταβάσεις are so frequent that, as Grote observes, they have been remarked by all commentators from the time of Galen, and they often occur so unexpectedly, that to follow the course of the general argument requires extraordinary care. In what we have called the third, or psychological, stage of the λόγος—that which analyses the μικτὸς βίος into its various classes and sub-classes—this desultoriness is particularly noticeable. The connexion is never really broken, but the classes and their subdivisions often appear, at first sight, as if introduced without any order. To give the reader a synoptic view of this portion of the dialogue, it is not enough to present a condensed translation of its successive paragraphs in the order in which they come: they require to be rearranged and exhibited in tabular form. The Philebus, no less than the Sophistes and Politicus, is an essay in, as well as to some extent a treatise on, classification; although the method here pursued is not uniformly that of διαίσεις, or dichotomy (like that of ἀσπαλιευτική and σοφιστική in the Sophistes), but proceeds rather by the selection of essential differences (διαφορὰ ἐκάστων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρει), as prescribed in the Theaetetus (228 C). The most complicated portion of the classification may be rearranged and tabulated as follows:—



The above division of the Mixed Life in which the good for man "resides," requires some comment.

In the first place, almost all critics, beginning, perhaps, with Aristotle, have done Plato injustice by taking some of his terms in too narrow and literal a fashion. The particular subdivision of Feeling which is above named "immediate" is referred to by Plato in the text as τὸ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, and as such is contra-distinguished from that here named "represented," but by Plato referred to as τὸ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος. To speak of pleasure as confined to the body *alone*, or to the soul *alone*, is not only a psychological error, but an error against which Plato himself, in the *Philebus*, has elaborately guarded his readers. In the very commencement of the dialogue (11 B) both sides agree that the good in question, whether ἡδονή or φρόνησις, is a ἔξις or διάθεσις ψυχῆς; and later on (31 B *seqq.*) Socrates shows that αἰσθησις, from which μνήμη, προσδοκία, and ἐπιθυμία

spring, and to which these ultimately refer, is a state of *ψυχή*, though produced *διὰ σώματος*; and we must suppose it to be for brevity that Plato subsequently speaks as if there could be pleasures of body which do not concern *ψυχή*, and *vice versa*. He divides feeling, indeed, into two *εἶδη*—those of body, and those of soul. Manifestly, however, this is a case in which, for want of accurate terminology, confusion was almost pardonable, because inevitable; and in justice to the author of the first valuable essays in Psychology, we must interpret him, not according to the strict and literal sense of the terms he is forced to employ in his classification, but according to the wider and truer sense in which he himself teaches us to interpret them. It was for want of more accurate class-names that Plato was compelled, contrary to his own account of *αἰσθησις* and what this account involves, to speak in 50 D of *σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς* as experiencing pleasure or pain. One should here deal liberally, in order to deal justly, with Plato. Aristotle, however, N. E. X. ii, 1173 b, 7–20, in a passage which possibly refers to the Philebus, would seem to charge his master with the psychological mistake of supposing that pleasure can be felt by the body alone, without the participation of the soul. But, apart from what has been said above, a psychologist might, even in our own day, be excused for using language in a popular sense, which, if strictly construed, would involve this error. It cannot be supposed that all who occasionally speak of “bodily pleasures” and “mental pleasures,” in the traditional fashion, maintain the erroneous psychological view which these terms imply. As well might a captious critic argue that one who speaks of the sun as rising or setting is ignorant of the Copernican astronomy.

In the next place, it will be noticed that we have interpolated the class-term “Feeling” to include both pains and pleasures, whether pure or mixed. For this class

Plato had no exact term in his own language. "Feeling" now means for psychologists the pleasurable or painful in consciousness. The word αἴσθησις is too objective in character to express this clearly: it denotes *sensation* or *perception* rather than *feeling*. We venture to think that Plato has, in several passages of the Philebus, employed the phrase ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ, to express the idea marked now by one word "Feeling." As an instance, we may refer to 32 D, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ λύπῃ . . . τότε μὲν ἀσπαστίον αὐτά, where all editors rightly refer αὐτά to ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ. Since λύπη is not, in Plato's opinion, ἀσπαστόν (he never anywhere favours the ascetic rigorism of those who would embrace pain as such), he seems to have used ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ here, as a compound term, to express the Life of Feeling, with its various passions and emotions, pleasurable or painful, in contrast to the clear and unperturbed Life of Intellect.

In the third place, Plato holds that the life of intelligence has pleasures of its own (τὰς περὶ τὰ μαθήματα ἡδονάς, 52 A, *seqq.*) quite distinct, in his opinion, from the pleasures arising in the life of feeling and emotion. His psychology is here at fault, or, rather, the hollowness of the abstraction by which Thought and Feeling were at first parted off from one another becomes apparent. In real life no absolute separation can be found between the elements of consciousness—between cognition, will, and feeling—such as that which Plato's, like modern, psychology here attempts, in the interests of scientific classification.

In the last place, Plato, who speaks of the perfectly adjusted organism of body and soul as a ἀρμονία, seems to hold that while this ἀρμονία is in a state of exact equilibrium there can be no pleasure or pain; certainly none of the coarser pleasures called ἀναγκαῖαι, with their attendant pains. This indifferent state of Feeling has not been marked in the above classification. Indeed, it would not

have been easy to assign to such a bare negative its proper place among the positive elements of the Mixed Life. In one remarkable passage of the *Philebus* (33 B) Plato speaks of the possibility of an intellectual life completely free from feeling, and, indeed, it is there suggested that this life may be *θειότατος*. The part played in the dialogue by this conception of an indifferent state is (as in the *Republic*) chiefly to exhibit the plausibility of the view that the grosser, or so-called "bodily," pleasures are but *ἀποφυγαὶ λυπῶν*—attempts on nature's part to restore the disturbed *ἀρμονία* of the *ζῶον*, and not, as the vulgar suppose them, things positively good in themselves.

We have not classified the parts into which Socrates subdivides the life of Thought, as this presents no difficulty.

The editor, in one of his valuable appendices, well explains Plato's use of the terms *ἀλήθεια* and *ψεῦδος*, as attributed in the *Philebus* to pleasures and pains. Plato has been obstinately misapprehended on this point by some editors, and even by Mr. Grote. The latter, supporting Protarchus' protest against Socrates' attempt to show that pleasures and pains, as such, may be true or false, seems to forget the dictum which in other places he is so fond of repeating, that the arguments used by the various speakers in the Platonic dialogues have been put into their mouths by Plato himself. If, as Mr. Grote thinks, Protarchus on this point refutes Socrates, it is Plato that deserves the credit. Instead, however, of looking for the further and deeper meaning of Plato's discussion, Mr. Grote, in the present case, somewhat absurdly makes himself a partisan of one opponent in the argument, and exults in his apparent triumph over the other, as if this were a triumph over Plato!

On the whole, the editor's work, both philosophical and philological, constitutes a distinct advance beyond that of

all previous English editors. The scope of this review precludes a detailed examination of the notes, which, in the main excellent, are chiefly devoted to criticism, grammar, and exegesis of the text. We may, however, refer to a few points of this kind.

17 A. The editor retains *βραδύτερον* against *βραχύτερον*, the conjecture of Badham, on the ground that logical division may err by being too "roundabout," as well as by neglecting to enumerate necessary species. But the error of those here condemned by Socrates was that they enumerated too few species or none, but passed immediately, or too fast, from *ἄπειρα* to *ἓν*. *βραδύτερον* has no application to the case, and seems due to some copyist-critic, who desired to find here the usual antithesis between "too fast" and "too slowly."

18 E. *πῶς μὴ ἄπειρα εὐθὺς κ. τ. λ.* The editor says: "As Paley notices, this *μὴ* is remarkable, and perhaps without parallel elsewhere." But *πῶς* here requires *μὴ* (not *οὐ*) in accordance with analogy. If a person commands me not to do something, and I ask, "*how* am I not to do this?" (that is, how am I to proceed so as to avoid doing it?) the interrogative *πῶς* must have *μὴ* for its accompanying negative. Here *ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ* sufficiently explains the grammatical need of *μὴ*. The inquiry prefaced by *πῶς* is an inquiry how the prescribed rule *shall not* be broken. The negative in a question which echoes a prohibition is the same as that used in the prohibitive clause.

28 E. *οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν*. This appears to be merely a more emphatic form of *πολὺν τὸ μέσον*, or *πολὺν τὸ διαφέρον*. Protarchus means that between the two suggestions there is no comparison, so immeasurably is the one superior to the other. Jowett (last edition) translates rightly. Like *πολὺν τὸ μέσον*, the *οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν* here is followed by *ὁ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ*, setting forth the contrasted cases. Cf. Herod. i. 126, ix. 82; Eurip. Alc. 914; Plato, Phil. 45 D, 65 C. In

the last passage, indeed, πολλὸν γάρ, οἶμαι, διαφέρειον, might, so far as the sense goes, have been οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν.

30 A. οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦμέν γε, ὦ Πρώταρχε, τὰ τέτταρα ἐκείνα, πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ κοινόν¹ καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος, ἐν ἅσασι τέταρτον ἐνόν, τοῦτο ἐν μὲν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴν τε παρέχον καὶ σωμασκίαν ἐμποιοῦν καὶ πταίσαντος σώματος ἱατρικὴν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλα συντιθὲν καὶ ἀκούμενον πᾶσαν καὶ παντοίαν σοφίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. There is much force in Badham's remark, that here "human skill is referred to," as well as in his question, "what human skill can be said ψυχὴν παρέχειν?" But he confuses things a little. The νοῦς, of which Socrates speaks, *quod* healing bodily hurts, &c., is, and is denominated, σοφία; but this same νοῦς, not *quod* human, but *quod* divine, ψυχὴν παρέχει. If, instead of παρέχον, we read παρέχειν, Badham's difficulty will be removed, and the balance of the sentence improved. Our editor well remarks, that "human skill must not here be disparted from cosmic wisdom." But while not "disparting," we must distinguish them. With παρέχειν this is possible, and we may explain, "that this (τοῦτο, sc. τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος) should [in its cosmic aspect] produce ψυχὴ in the bodily elements; while *quod* healing hurts, &c., it should be denominated σοφία." The construction is—ψυχὴν τε (παρέχειν) καὶ (σωμασκίαν . . . ἀκούμενον) ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. If we keep παρέχον it is impossible to make the distinction required between the points of view: the grammatical co-ordination of this with the other participles (while an infinitive is really wanted to correspond to ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) inevitably carries the mind to look upon the two aspects under which τοῦτο is presented as identical. Read, therefore, παρέχειν.

Ibid. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἐν ὅλῳ τε οὐρανῷ καὶ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη . . . ἐν τούτοις δ', κ. τ. λ. Some editors, including Mr. Bury, refer τῶν δ' αὐτῶν τούτων to τὰ τέτταρα ἐκείνα at the beginning of the paragraph. He writes:—"In the latter clause τῶν δ' αὐτῶν τούτων is 'these same four

kinds'"; but the true reference is to the four *elements* πῦρ, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, γῆ—the ταῦτα τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα of 29 D. The four γένη have been indicated by ἐκεῖνα. The argument is this. "The four γένη exist—the fourth not less than the other three—in the Cosmos, as well as in man. They operate with the same four elements (earth, air, fire, water) in the Cosmos as in man. They have produced a principle of wisdom and order in man; who, therefore, but must conclude that they have produced a principle of wisdom and order in the Cosmos also?" Ἐν τούτοις, of course, refers, as Mr. Bury says, to ἐν ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ καὶ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη. The argument is inductive. It proceeds by a supposed analogy between the microcosm and the Cosmos, reasoning from the former, as known, to the latter, which is in question. Mr. Grote strangely censures Plato for reasoning here from the Cosmos to the microcosm : from the less to the more known.

31 D. τῆς ἀρμονίας μὲν λυομένης. The editor's note represents Plato as ascribing physical pain and pleasure to "two opposite processes of divergence from a mean state." We presume that what he meant to say was, "two opposite processes of divergence from *and restoration to* a mean state." He states the Platonic view accurately, Introd. p. xiv.

48 D. οὐ γὰρ μὴ δυνατὸς ὦ. The editor here writes: "For the rare *pres.* subj. with οὐ μὴ in denial, see Goodwin, M. T. § 295." But this is the only possible construction in the case of verbs like εἰμί, in which no distinction of form exists between aorist and present subjunctive. Goodwin's examples ignore this point.

Mr. R. G. Bury's edition of the Philebus is (we must add in conclusion) welcome to all students. Though (as the editor modestly says in his Preface) it "cannot claim to be exhaustive, or final," it is, in our opinion, a valuable contribution towards the elucidation of one of the most important, as well as difficult, of Plato's works.

JOHN I. BEARE.

NOTES ON THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS.¹

MR. FURNEAUX is, confessedly, the first Tacitean scholar in England : and the fourth volume of his edition of Tacitus, which contains the *Agricola*, is a work of the widest learning and soundest judgment, and is well worthy of the editor's high reputation. The lack of precision in the accounts which Tacitus gives of military matters, and the very imperfect manuscript tradition, call forth all the best powers of the historical and critical scholar who undertakes to edit the treatise. Sound judgment is especially required, for the very defectiveness of the biography, as it has come down to us, has stimulated, and still stimulates, all who read it to indulge a natural propensity to form theories and let imagination run wild. Accordingly, the literature on the *Agricola* is very large. The carefulness and judgment with which the mature scholarship of Mr. Furneaux has winnowed the wheat from the chaff deserve the fullest gratitude. Difficulties still remain : but, though we may feel sure that some of these will be removed by the edition which the eminent American scholar, Professor Gudeman, is producing, it is probable that, unless a new manuscript is discovered, no additions will be made to the criticism or elucidation of the *Agricola* for many years, so numerous and important as to remove Mr. Furneaux's edition from being the standard English work on the subject.

This is hardly the place to praise Mr. Furneaux's

¹ *Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolae.* formerly Fellow and Tutor of Corpus
 Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Christi College, Oxford. At the
 a Map, by Henry Furneaux, M.A., Clarendon Press, 1898.

work in detail. The Introduction leaves little to be desired. As in his edition of the *Germania*, the section headed "Purpose of the Treatise" appears to be quite convincing: and the long section on Tacitus's account of Britain and of its conquest is learned on every point. The conservative instinct whereby the MS. reading is defended may be seen by taking a couple of pages at random:—42. 5, *sed* is rightly maintained in "per abrupta *sed* in nullum reip. usum," meaning "by risking their lives but without conferring any public advantage": the antithesis and sentiment is well defended by Ann. xiv. 12. 2. In 43. 2 Mr. Furneaux justly holds that there is no necessity to add *ut* before *ausim*: 44. 2, "nihil *impetus* in vultu" is rightly retained: and, above all, the defence of *non contigerant*, and of the traditional order in 44. 3, 4, is a service of the highest order. The gifts possessed by Agricola are given in descending scale—(1) he had the true blessings of virtue, (2) he gained the noblest of the ordinary objects of ambition, viz. political and military distinctions, (3) and as to wealth, he had neither a desire for vast riches nor any splendid fortune (implying, with some delicacy, that his means were small, and so did not expose him to danger). Yet Mr. Furneaux does not always adhere to the MS. reading: thus, in 42. 3, he rightly adopts Mommsen's emendation, *proconsul<i> consul>ari*. The same conservative, but not unduly conservative, spirit runs all through the volume. Here we venture to add a few remarks which have suggested themselves during a reading of Mr. Furneaux's edition, but which we are very conscious are, as a general rule, little more than possibilities, and, in many cases, lack everything of the nature of finality.

1. 4. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus. Tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

The punctuation whereby the sentence stops at *incusa-*

turus is rightly defended by Mr. Furneaux. But *incusaturus* without an object expressed is rather bald. Read <*in illum*> *incusaturus*, "if I were about to write an invective against him." For *incusare in* cp. Ann. v. 7. (vi. 2) 2.

5. 3. Non sane alias excitator (*exercitator* mss.) . . . Britannia fuit.

Buchner's reading, *excitator*, is certainly to be adopted for, as Mr. Furneaux points out, *exercitator* would mean "more practised" in a thing. Errors in the omission or insertion of the symbol for *er* (~) are frequent in Γ (= Vaticanus 3429, the principal MS.), e.g. *uterentur* for *uerterentur* (18. 1): *impellitur* for *impelleretur*: *auctoritate* for *auctoriterati* (13. 5); *perhiberent* for *perhibent* (45. 3).

6. 4. idem praeturae †certior (*tenor*, Rhenanus; *otium* Ritter *terror*, *torpor*, *languor*, others) et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit.

The riddling *certior et* may just possibly be a corruption for *certioris*, "there was the same silent tenure of one of the more secure praetorships." Agricola held one of the minor praetorships which looked after the games, and was less dangerous than the urban or peregrine praetorships to which judicial business was attached. We thus get a good meaning for *enim*.

Prof. Gudeman (Cl. Rev. xi. 326) has improved on Lipsius's emendation (*moderationis* for *medio rationis*) by reading *medio moderationis*. Agricola adopted what is always the proper rule as regards amusements; he struck the right mean between economy and profusion: he was moderately lavish.

9. 3. ubi officio satisfactum, nulla (-am mss.) ultra potestatis persona (-am mss.): trinitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat.

We must read, with Rhenanus and Mr. Furneaux, *nulla . . . persona*. The MSS. often insert -m wrongly, e.g.

§ 5, *ostentandam contentionem*; 11. 2, *Hispaniam*. To suppose an ellipse of *egit* is impossible. The omission of a verb of doing is allowable, but not one expressing such a very special idea as would be conveyed by *egit*. The succeeding words are not to be rejected as a gloss. There are not, we think, any undoubted glosses in the *Agricola*. Their meaning may be "he at once divested himself of austeriety and hauteur and graspingness," which were parts of the "potestatis persona." Roman provincial governors were almost expected, in their official duties, to exhibit these qualities towards the provincials: in maintaining the dignity of their superior position, and in trying to obtain the greatest amount of advantage for the state, they were required to be distant in manner and strict in their exactions. But such qualities were alien from Agricola's nature, and as soon as ever he ceased to transact official business he divested himself of them. For the instantaneous pluperfect, cp. Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 685, *Sic fata gradus evaserat altos*.

9. 6. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est.

Caesarian provinces were, as Mr. Furneaux points out, usually held for at least three years. But Agricola's three years were not fully out when he was at once, without delay (*statim*), recalled to go through the formality of the consulship, which was necessary in order to qualify him to take the most important military position of the day. This seems the natural interpretation of *statim*. We once thought that it might have the archaic sense of "in due course." Nothing could have been more "in due course" than Agricola's "cursus honorum." Charisius (220. 10 K.) quotes, from Accius, "Vectigalia egerant vestra et struantur statim," and interprets the last word by "statute et ordinate"; cp. also Ter. Phorm. 790. The

same usage is found in Apuleius, Met. viii. 7, *officiis inferialibus statim factis*, where Oudendorp and Hildebrand rightly take *statim* in the same sense. But such usage could hardly be accepted without an undoubted *Tacitean* parallel.

10. 4. Read—unde et in universum fama; *set* (*est* MSS.) transgressis *et* (*sed* MSS.) immensum et enorme spatium, “the tract both huge and shapeless.”

11. 2. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi (so Rhenanus; *usu* MSS.), seu procurentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit.

It is rather a strong measure to alter *usu* to *vi* with Rhenanus. Perhaps *usu* may be retained, “the practices of their original state still surviving.” The genitive after *usus* would, no doubt, naturally be taken as objective; but cp. 20. 1, *intolerantia priorum*, where one would also expect the genitive to be objective, but it is subjective.

12. 5. Solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum, fecundum, tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt.

The wealth of the Britons in cattle is noticed by Caesar B. G. v. 12. 3, *pecorum magnus numerus*. Tacitus mentions cattle in close proximity with climate, crops, and tree-fruit in Germ. 5. 1 (*terra*) *satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda*. So does his model, Sallust, Jug. 17. 5, *ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus*. We should certainly expect an allusion to the flocks and herds of the Britons. It is just possible that there is such a similar reference here, and we should read *Solum* <*pecorum*> *fecundum; praeter oleam . . . patiens frugum; tarde mitescunt*. For an undoubted transposition compare *crebrae eruptiones* (22. 4).

15. 2. alterius manum centuriones.

For a somewhat similar apposition cp. Ann. xii. 29. 4, *ipsi manus propria pedites* (sc. *erant*).

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17. 3. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus.

Prof. Gudeman (*l.c.* p. 328) rightly attributes to *-que* an adversative force, "and yet"; so that there is no necessity, though much temptation, to add something like *<suscepit lumen>*. *Et* (see GG. 397-8) and *ac* (Agr. 18. 3) have occasionally the same signification.

18. 5. obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui *mare* expectabant.

Strange as this expression is, it is probably what Tacitus wrote; elsewhere he joins *mare* with these words, cf. Hist. ii. 12. 1, *possessa per mare et naves maiore Italiae parte*; ib. iii. 1. fin., *superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum*.

19. 3. nec poena semper sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse.

There is not any urgent necessity to understand *uti* with *poena*, taken by zeugma from *contentus esse*. Take the two ablatives as co-ordinate, and translate "he considered satisfaction attained not always by punishment, but more often by repentance."

19. 4. The high authority of Γ almost compels us to read "frumenti et tributorum *auctionem, inaequalitatem onerum* mollire." Bährens advocated *inaequalitatem onerum*. It is not necessary to take *auctionem* as referring to any definite occasion on which the tribute was increased: it may refer in general to any occasions in which circumstances may have temporarily demanded larger contributions. Such increased contributions were necessarily burdensome, and it required management to make the subjects pay these without the jobbery of officials being added to their burdens: "any raising of the contributions, all unevenness of incidence he alleviated by cutting down devices for extortion."

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20. 2. *parcendo rursus inritamenta (invitamenta Acidalius) pacis ostentare.*

Probably *inritamenta* of Γ is right. Tacitus elsewhere represents peace as seductive, delusive, enervating to the Britons, cp. c. 21.

20. 3. Possibly we should read—*circumdatae sunt tanta ratione curaue ut, <sicut> nulla ante Britanniae nova pars, illacessita transierit.*

22. 4. Perhaps read—*<et>, ut erat comis bonis, ita, &c.*

24. 1. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit.

Mr. Furneaux (Intro. p. 40) has shown most satisfactorily that Agricola marched along the *west* coast of Britain, from Chester to the Clyde. The Tanaus (c. 22) would seem to be the Frith of Clyde, while Clota is the River Clyde. During the third year Agricola, moving mainly north-west, devastated most of the lowlands, from the Solway to the Frith of Clyde; during the fourth he secured that tract, and established forts from the River Clyde to the Frith of Forth; and in the fifth prepared to advance further in the direction in which he had been originally marching. To do so he had to take to the sea, and he crossed the Frith of Clyde, probably to Arran and Cantire, and subdued the tribes in those localities. Possibly *<Tanai>* has been absorbed by *trans-*, and the passage should read *nave prima <Tanai> transgressus*, "having crossed the entrance of the Tanaus": cp. Ann. ii. 16, 3, "*Campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenebat.*"¹

¹ Mr. Haverfield (*Cl. Rev.* ix. 310) has taken *prima* as the acc. plur., "Agricola crossed by sea the first part of his journey"; but this is rather vague, even for Tacitus. He thinks

the place which "looks towards Ireland" was North Wales, or Cumberland. Mr. Furneaux thinks (Intro. 46) the most likely locality is Wigton and Galloway.

He then left some forces in Cantire, and that may be the place "quae Hiberniam aspicit." It is only fifteen miles from the Mull to Torr Head, and looks less. A camp could be seen across the intervening sea.¹ The force which Agricola left there cannot have been a large one, and a tolerable "line" (*instruxit*) could be made on the Mull. That bit of coast "looks towards" Ireland, if any part of Great Britain does. Mr. Furneaux is strongly opposed to this view, "than which no more improbable supposition could be made" (Introd. 46). But though the Mull would be a very unlikely place for a general of the present day to choose for the invasion of Ireland, it was not at all such an unlikely one for a pioneer general of the first century, who had most imperfect knowledge of the geographical situation of the islands, and was (as it were) feeling his way.

24. 2. Spatium eius (Hiberniae), si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: in melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.

As the comparison is instituted between Great Britain and Ireland, the natural interpretation of *in melius*² is the preferable one to take, viz. that the harbours of Ireland were better known to merchants at that time than those of England. There was a considerable wealth of gold in Ireland in the first century, and this may naturally have

¹ If we may suppose, with Mr. Furneaux, that the Usipi (c. 28) were collected for the Irish expedition, we may conjecture that they were stationed on Cantire, that the boats which they seized were probably in the harbour of Campbeltown, and the camp which they sailed by was the camp on the Mull.

² Cp. for *in* with comparatives *in deterius credita*, Ann. iii. 10, 4; *in*

mollius relata, xiv. 39, 4, and GG, p. 595. If it be urged that these are not exact parallels, and that *in* with a comparative may be used of a statement or belief, but not of positive knowledge—the best alteration would be (with Bährens) to leave out *in*, and suppose that *in* is the *un* of *differunt*, which got transposed: for the MSS. read *differt in melius*.

attracted merchants [cp. Mr. G. Coffey, "Origins of Pre-historic Art in Ireland," pp. 39 ff.].

Halm's addition, *in<teriora parum,> melius*, &c., attributes to Tacitus a rather trifling remark—of course the harbours of an island would be better known to foreign merchants than the interior—it breaks the comparison of Ireland and Great Britain, and it is difficult to explain how the omission occurred. If it is asked why, if Ireland had a livelier commerce with the Empire than Britain, it was not conquered—it may be replied, that the conquest of Britain was made for political, not for commercial, reasons; to prevent aid being given to adjacent Gaul, with which South Britain was one in nationality, language, and religion. And it is evident from this chapter, that on the question as to the annexation of Ireland the reasons in the affirmative were of a similar nature, viz., that the Roman arms should be everywhere, and liberty removed out of sight. Probably Agricola, as a soldier, approved of the annexation; but, as a very discreet man, did not feel it prudent to proceed to the conquest of the island without the consent of the home government; and we can well suppose that, with the gathering troubles on their other frontiers, they disapproved of the forward policy in Britain. For, in any case, the retention of the island would entail great expense; and an attempt at Romanization would meet with grave difficulties, as the inhabitants of Ireland were probably on a lower level of civilization than their neighbours, and certainly were of a widely different stock, and spoke a different language from the Celts of Gaul and Britain. Similar reasons, doubtless, operated to prevent the annexation of Caledonia: cp. Mommsen, "Provinces," i. 185 (Eng. Trans.).

There is an interesting passage in Strabo, iv. 5, 3 (201), where he is plainly putting forward the view entertained by the government of Augustus against annexing Britain.

In this passage one of the reasons assigned is ἀνάγκη γὰρ μειῶσθαι τὰ τέλη (customs' duties) φόρων ἐπιβαλλομένων. This shows, as Mommsen points out (i. 172, note 2), that it was acknowledged that "after annexation of the island the free traffic, and therewith the produce of customs, would decline, and concedes the proposition that the Roman rule and the Roman tribute affected injuriously the prosperity of the subjects." If that *was* the result of the conquest of Britain, it becomes easy to understand that, in Agricola's time, the commerce with England may have declined, and that with Ireland may have increased, both relatively and absolutely.

It is impossible to see any valid reason in support of Pfitzner's view, that Agricola actually did invade Ireland. Mr. Furneaux (Introd. 45) and Mr. Haverfield (*Cl. Rev.* xi. 447) sufficiently demolish this theory.

25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebant, portus classe exploravit.

This is the MSS reading, and should, perhaps, be retained. Translate: "Having embraced (*i.e.* embraced in his sphere of occupation, cf. 17. 2) the states immediately across Bodotria,¹ because they were afraid of a general movement of the highlanders, and the devastating march of an enemy's army, he used his fleet in exploring the harbours." They yielded to the Romans; for they were afraid that if they did not do so, the Roman army, advancing to meet the Caledonians, would have marched

¹ We think that Tacitus is here speaking of the tribes immediately across the Bodotria-Clota line of forts (c. 23), and does not necessarily imply that the tribes referred to occupied the modern Fife, or that Agricola's fleet operated on the east coast. The fleet

was the fleet which was with Agricola all along (*adsumpta in partem virium*), and that was certainly on the west. Besides, there are not many inlets of the sea for a fleet to explore on the east coast; there are plenty on the west.

through their country in hostile fashion, spreading destruction far and wide.

25. 3. Read: <At> ad manus et arma conversi Caledonii.

29. 1. Brotier's view, that *vi.* (Septimae) was lost after *-vit* of "illustravit" is very likely. Tacitus generally puts the numeral first in such passages: cf. 21. 1; 22. 1; 23. 1; 24. 1.

B. Et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.

Cp. Alexander the Great after the death of Hephaestion, Plut. Alex. 72, τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀπυσφάττων.

30. 4. Recessus ipse et sinus famae.

Mr. Furneaux translates: "the very seclusion and remoteness of our glory" (the mystery lent by distance to our reputation). So also Messrs. Church and Brodribb, "this remote sanctuary of Britain's glory." This is a very fine sentiment, and perhaps the one which Tacitus meant to express. But we might possibly translate: "this retired nook of the known world" (lit. "of rumour, where rumour reaches"). Something like this is the view of Andresen, "*sinus famae* hoc loco remotissima pars eius regni dicitur quod fama obtinet."

30. 4. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; nunc terminus Britanniae patet: atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est; sed nulla iam ultra gens—nihil nisi fluctus et saxa et infestiores Romani.

So the MSS. Though there is at least one undoubted transposition in the *Agricola* (22. 3), yet we hesitate to accept the transposition which is generally adopted in this passage, whereby *atque . . . sed* is brought back to follow *defendit*. As the words stand, they were not too

pregnant with thought for Tacitus. The order of ideas is—"Our retirement has kept us safe, now it is exposed; everything while unknown is exaggerated by report, but now there is no nation behind us (for us to retire to, and so continue to be unknown)—nothing behind us but rocks and sea, and before us the still more cruel Romans." Mr. Furneaux rightly refuses to accept the transposition of Nipperdey in 33. 6, and that of Bährens in 34. 1.

33. 5. Nam et superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt.

As Mr. Beare has pointed out to me, *in frontem* is to be taken with the preceding verbs of motion, "to have traversed so much ground . . . is glorious with our face to the foe; but if we turn our backs, &c." The same view is put forward by Mr. R. F. Davis, of Weymouth College, in his excellent edition of the *Agricola*. There is then no necessity to supply, with Mr. Furneaux *spectantibus*; or *iter facientibus*, which had occurred to me. It would be desirable to get a parallel for *in frontem*, meaning "forwards" (which is almost certainly the meaning here), but I cannot find one.

34. 3. Novissime res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis.

So the MSS. Mr. Furneaux and Professor Gudeman (*Cl. Rev.* xi. 329) read "novissimae res et *extremus metus* corpora defixere in his vestigiis," leaving out *aciem*, which they regard as a gloss on *corpora*. We do not feel certain about glosses in the *Agricola*. Perhaps a simpler remedy would be to read *defix<a fix>ere aciem*, "their desperate condition, and the agony of fear with which their bodies are paralysed, have fixed their line in this spot." Professor Gudeman need feel no difficulty as to *acies* applied

to the Britons : cp. 34. 1 ; 35. 3 ; 37. 2. The case is different with *exercitus* (cp. Mr. Furneaux on 25. 1), which implies a much more permanent organization ; though, of course, Calgacus calls the British host an "*exercitus*" (32. 5).

35. 2. Mr. Furneaux's note on *bellandi* is admirable. In § 4 he rightly omits *simul* : it crept in from the adjacent *simul*, just as *circum* did in 32. 3.

36. 2. Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere.

Fodere is read by Gesner, and adopted by most editors. It would be quite unexceptionable were it not that Γ reads *foedare*, which probably ought on that account to be retained. *Foedare* means little more than "wounds," and is used in accounts of battles with plain words : cp. Plaut. Amph. i. 1. 91 (246), *foedant et proterunt hostium copias*. At most it signifies "to gash," and such meaning would not be out of place here.

38. 1. Britannique palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos.

The *-que* after *Britanni* will not stand. Mr. Furneaux leaves it out, with Puteolanus. But here, perhaps, we may for once agree with Schoene (though generally he is unduly bold in his corrections), who reads *Britanni <ubi>que palantes*. If *b* was written as *u*, *uni* would readily have fallen out after *nni*.

38. 2. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit : vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvis.

This phrase "the hills all to themselves" (without the crowds of the day before) is one to which naturally no exact parallel is forthcoming ; but it is not too extravagant for this very pictorial passage. The hills, which were full of life the day before, and seemed quite near, now appeared

distant and removed, as if they had shrunk back into themselves. To read *deserti*, as Ernesti does, is a simple proceeding, but no solution of the difficulty.

38. 5. The "Trucculensis portus" was probably on the west coast. There was a fleet certainly on the west coast, and we have no conclusive evidence that there was a fleet on the east coast at all. *Proximo* may mean "adjacent" to where Agricola was, not "nearer" to Rome.

L. C. PURSER.

ADAM SMITH'S LECTURES ON "JURIS- PRUDENCE."¹

SINCE Jevons, in his brilliant essay on Cantillon, declared that writer to be the true founder of scientific economics, our materials for a history of the origin and growth of the science have been very substantially enlarged. Two distinct sets of Ricardo's letters have been published under the care of Dr. Bonar and that of Mr. Hollander. Turgot's *Réflexions*, in a true text, freed from all traces of Du Pont's emendating zeal, is now available. The liberality of Harvard University has supplied us with a faithful and elegant reproduction of Cantillon's over-lauded essay.² A facsimile of the famous *Tableau Économique* is the gift of the British Economic Association ; while, within the last year, M. Schelle has followed up his researches into the history of the Physiocrats by a little volume on Gournay, containing various unpublished letters and other writings of that important, but little-known, member of the group of economists. Hasbach, Oncken, Bauer, and Knies, both by publication of fresh documents and critical comment

¹ *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue, and Arms*, delivered in the University of Glasgow by ADAM SMITH. Reported by a student in 1763, and edited, with an introduction and notes, by Edwin Cannan, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896.

² Cantillon, *Essai sur le Commerce*. Reprinted for Harvard University, 1892. There is a brief introduction by Mr. Higgs. Jevons' article on Cantillon appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1881.

thereon, have thrown new light on the problem of the real starting-point of the classical political economy.¹

But far more important than any of the foregoing for this special purpose is the discovery of a MS. containing notes of the lectures delivered by Adam Smith during his occupancy of the famous Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. A fortunate accident brought the existence of this document to the knowledge of that learned and independent-minded economist, Mr. Edwin Cannan, who secured the aid of the delegates of the Clarendon Press in the issue of a suitable edition. The result has been the appearance of the present volume, in which the text of the lectures (with some obvious corrections) is given. Mr. Cannan, as editor, has noted all the parallel passages in the *Wealth of Nations*, has given references to the works which Adam Smith seems likely to have used in preparing his lectures, and has marked any doubtful passages with the care usually reserved for a Greek or Latin text. He has, besides, prefixed a careful introduction, in one section of which the history of the MS. is considered; the other being devoted to an explanation of its importance for the history of economics. Not the least remarkable or least praiseworthy feature is the skilful avoidance of the many tempting questions that lie outside the domain of an editor, but might have been brought in by a less careful or conscientious worker.

There is, it must be said, something peculiarly felicitous

¹ The more important of the above-mentioned works are:—

1. *Tableau Economique*, by Quesnay. London, 1894.
2. Schelle, *Du Pont de Nemours et l'Ecole Physiocratique*. 1888.
3. Schelle, *Vincent de Gournay*. 1897.
4. Hasbach, *Untersuchungen über Adam Smith*.
5. Hasbach, *Smith und Quesnay*.
6. Bauer, "Studies on the origin of the French Economists." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. v., pp. 101 sq.
7. Oncken, *Œuvres de Quesnay*.
8. Knies, *Carl Friedrich's Brieflicher Verkehr*.

in Mr. Cannan's being placed in this position. Most readers of his *Theories of Production and Distribution*, while admiring the acuteness and critical vigour of the work, not unnaturally felt that somewhat less than justice was meted out to Adam Smith and his followers. Loose expressions were construed with undue strictness, and little allowance was made for the inevitable difficulties that the originators of a new study encounter in trying to state their views. The discovery of Adam Smith's lectures may be regarded as affording a *locus paenitentiae*, which has been well and profitably used. Not a trace of the captious tone that marked the comments in the *Production and Distribution* is visible; but the same independence, clear-sightedness, and knowledge of earlier writers, is abundantly shown. As an example of the last quality we may refer to the historical note (p. 185) on the qualities desirable in the money material which brings together all the important passages dealing with the matter. Another note (p. 164) shows that Smith took his example of pin-making from a French source (*The Encyclopédie*, vol. v.) rather than an English one. A third (p. 171) suggests that the term, "division of labour," was itself not long in use. Nothing, in fact, is too small for notice if it in any way explains the text or helps to elucidate Adam Smith's relation to European, and especially to English thought.

In order to realise the importance of these recovered lectures, we must bear in mind that Adam Smith, in his Glasgow courses, dealt with the subject of Moral Philosophy under the heads of—(1) Natural Theology, (2) Ethics, strictly so called, (3) that branch of morality which relates to *Justice*, and (4) those political regulations which are founded upon the principle of *expediency*—such, at least, is the statement of Miller, who attended the lectures. The second part was substantially reproduced in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published in 1759—the work which gave

Adam Smith his position amongst his contemporaries, and it has been generally believed that the last part was absorbed in the *Wealth of Nations*. A long period, however, separated the publication of the latter work and the close of Smith's Glasgow career, during which he was brought into somewhat close contact with Quesnay, Turgot, and the circle of French economists, where doctrines in general form resembling those taught in the *Wealth of Nations* were debated, and urged on the attention of the public. There was therefore a good deal of plausibility in the statement of Du Pont that Smith had copied from Turgot's *Réflexions*, and that he was the disciple of Quesnay. Smith's errors, indeed, were allowed to be his own, but his economic doctrines were said to be borrowed from his French teachers. Thorold Rogers, with his usual dogmatism, repeated the charge of borrowing from Turgot; but, as Mr. Cannan points out, six out of the seven passages of Turgot quoted in support bear "not the smallest resemblance" to Smith's text, while in the seventh there is "a remote resemblance to the passage quoted from Turgot, but an infinitely closer resemblance to passages in earlier English writers." In like manner Rogers, without any evidence to support him, declared that the famous four maxims of taxation were borrowed from Turgot. As Turgot's *Réflexions* were written in 1766, and not published till 1770, the lectures delivered at Glasgow, in 1763, cannot be exposed to this charge. We are able, by a comparison of the *Wealth of Nations* with the lectures, to say that Adam Smith could not possibly have borrowed from the Physiocrats, though we are not bound to believe that all fresh matter in the later work came from that source, since Adam Smith was surely capable of discovering something for himself, and his retirement at Kirkcaldy gave him ample leisure for maturing his ideas.

It is therefore very remarkable to find that the most

characteristic doctrines of the *Wealth of Nations* had been propounded to the Glasgow students in 1763. Thus the admirable account of the action of division of labour appears in a fully developed form; the functions of money are described in the same way; natural and market price are distinguished, and "labour not money" is declared to be "the true measure of value" (p. 180). There is quite as much (perhaps even more) emphasis laid on the absurdity of believing that "national opulence" consists in money rather than in commodities. The pernicious consequences that follow from this erroneous idea are exhibited more completely in the Lectures than in the 4th book of the *Wealth of Nations*. That home expense may bring a nation to poverty is established by one of those simple illustrations characteristic of Adam Smith's style, which, as he did not retain it in his later book, we may quote here:—

"It is commonly imagined that whatever people spend in their own country cannot diminish public opulence. . . . But it is evident that when any man wears and tears and spends his stock without employing himself in any sphere of industry, the nation is at the end of the year so much the poorer by it. . . . As an illustration, let us suppose that this island was invaded by a numerous band of Tartars, a people who lead a roving life, and have little or no idea of industry. Here they would find all commodities for the taking; they would put on fine clothes, eat, drink, tear and wear everything they laid their hands upon. The consequences would be, that from the highest degree of opulence the whole country would be reduced to the lowest pitch of misery. The money would probably remain for some time, but all the necessaries of life would be consumed" (pp. 187-9).

The apology for public debts, that, if owed at home, "it is just the right hand owing the left," and Law's Mississippi scheme are regarded as arising from the same evil source. It is plain that no French influence was required to teach Adam Smith the doctrines of his system. Again,

the theory of interest, the functions of banks, the growth of wealth, the general forms of taxation, and the nature of public debts are all handled in the *Lectures* in the same way as that made familiar to us by *The Wealth of Nations*, though the treatment is necessarily much curter and less elaborate.

Did Smith, then, gain nothing by his sojourn in France and close intercourse with the leaders of economic thought in that country? A highly probable answer is supplied by the appearance of a new element in his published work, which is altogether absent in his academic discourses. Readers of the *Wealth of Nations* will call to mind the account of the way in which "the produce is naturally distributed among the constituent orders of society," and how the price of commodities is made up of the shares of those orders, which shares are wages, profit, and rent. Here is an evident point of contact between the *Tableau Économique* and the *Wealth of Nations*. The physiocratic idea that the sum of produce is divided by economic laws amongst definite classes, themselves called into existence by economic conditions, was a fascinating one, which the writer of a great constructive work would naturally appreciate and employ in his own way. This is precisely what Adam Smith has done. He has worked the conception of shares of produce into his theory of the factors of prices. Rent, profit, and wages appear as the determining elements or, in his language, "component parts" of the price of commodities. In the *Lectures*, wages, or rather cost of labour, is the only element considered (pp. 173 sq.). "A man has the natural price of his labour when it is sufficient to maintain him during the hours of labour, to defray the expense of education, and to compensate the risk of not living long enough, and of not succeeding in the business. When a man has this, there will be sufficient encouragement to the labourer, and the commodity will be cultivated in

proportion to the demand" (p. 176). Of rent or profit nothing is said in this connexion, but in the *Wealth of Nations* they are noticed at length, though it may be said that the change was not altogether an improvement, since it placed rent in a false position as a necessary factor of price. This view is supported by the fact that the incidence of taxation, which is only explicable by a theory of distribution, is also discussed in the *Wealth of Nations* only. The *Lectures* confine this part of the subject to the trite statements, that "when taxes are laid on commodities, their prices must rise," and that "a land tax does not tend to raise the price of commodities."

The immense importance ascribed to the *impôt unique* by the French writers, goes to show that they influenced the treatment of taxation by Smith very decidedly. Other probable (indeed in the former case certain) debts to the physiocrats are of the sharp antithesis between "productive" and "unproductive" labour, and the stress laid on capital as determining the proportion of "productive" labour. Still even in the *Lectures* there is a full recognition of the necessity of industry for the creation of wealth; and we read that every trade requires a stock of food, clothes, and lodging to carry it on (p. 181), as in a later passage we learn that the absence of stock is "one great cause of the slow progress of opulence in every country; till some stock be produced, there can be no division of labour" (p. 223). There is here an approach to the true position that capital is an indispensable auxiliary in a developed productive system.

Careful examination of the text of the *Lectures* and that of the *Wealth of Nations* completely dissipates the idea that the true source of political economy is the French school of economists, while it shows a certain indebtedness to it on the part of Adam Smith in respect to the theory of distribution and the conditions of the incidence of taxation.

But intellectual influence may lead to omissions as well as insertions, and we have accordingly to examine those sections of the *Lectures* which were not used by Adam Smith in his economic treatise. They, Mr. Cannan states, are five in number. One (§ 13), on "Law's Scheme," was merely a summary of Duverny's account of the Mississippi scheme. A second (§ 15) may be regarded as really included in the remarks in Book II. chap. 2, and Book IV. chaps. 1 and 3. A third (§ 17), dealing with "The Influence of Commerce on Manners," has been used in part in Book V. chap. 1; but the whole section rather belongs to a work on political science. The assertion that "whenever commerce is introduced into any country, probity and punctuality always accompany it" (p. 253), would fitly find a place in Mr. Spencer's account of the "industrial type" in his *Political Institutions*, chap. 18, though the exposition of the inconveniences of the commercial spirit which follows might not be accepted by that philosopher.

The most important omission, however, is that of the two opening sections of the lectures on "Cheapness or Plenty," entitled "The Natural Wants of Mankind," and "The Arts are subservient to the Natural Wants of Mankind." These sections, brief as they are, indicate by their position that, in Adam Smith's opinion, the first problem for the economic student is the character of man's needs. When Hermann, in his *Economic Inquiries*, placed "needs" before "productive efforts," he was not so much correcting, as reviving, Adam Smith's view in his pre-physiocratic days.

The study of Society as an economic machine presupposes the existence of objects for which that machine is to work. Had there been no disturbing influence, it is at least possible that the opening chapters of the *Wealth of Nations* would have described the growth of wants in civilized societies, and shown how their increasing subdivision and differentiation insensibly produced a

corresponding division of employments, and permitted more effective, because more specialized, kinds of labour. But the aspect of society as working to produce, overshadowed, in the minds of the French economists, the parallel view of society as using its products. "Accumulation" became more important than "satisfaction"; and Adam Smith was persuaded to abandon this section of his system, contenting himself with laying down, at an advanced part of his treatise, that "consumption is the end and purpose of all production" (Book IV. chap. 8), and introducing scattered notices of the effect of changes in the modes of expenditure. If his connexion with France enabled him to gain a more scientific position in respect to the partition of produce, may it not have induced him to abandon quite as valuable a conception, viz. the dependence of the economic system on the nature and variations of human wants?¹

Passing from the much-debated question of the relative debts of Smith and the French economists, we may notice the earlier English authorities used in the *Lectures*. Mr. Cannan dwells on the influence of Hutcheson, whose lectures Adam Smith had attended, and conjectures that the germ of the *Wealth of Nations* is to be found in a chapter of the 1st Book of Hutcheson's *Introduction to Moral Philosophy*, which treats of "the values and prices of goods." The references collected in the editor's notes seem, however, to point to a much greater indebtedness to the political and economical writings of Hume, whose opinions Adam Smith was generally ready to accept. Locke's *Civil Government* and his *Considerations on Interest* were also used in the preparation of the lectures. In some sections Mandeville's doctrines, as propounded in his *Fable of the Bees*, are noticed for the purpose of refutation.² The truth

¹ It is curious that Jevons should have credited the French school with emphasising the conception of "wants" (*besoins*) in opposition to the English view.

² Mandeville is mentioned in section 12 of "Cheapness or Plenty" page 208, but he is evidently referred to in other places.

evidently is that alike in his professorial teaching and in his publications, Adam Smith took up serviceable matter wherever he found it. Personal experience of a varied kind, and exceptionally wide and accurate reading are abundantly shown in the *Wealth of Nations*. In a lower, but still remarkable degree, they are also exhibited in the *Lectures*. In many cases, personal acquaintance confirmed views previously formed from study. Thus we would naturally imagine that his strong condemnation of the French financial system was the result of his travels in that country; but this vigorous criticism, supported by details, appears as distinctly in the *Lectures* as in his book.

In another respect this recovered note-book helps to explain Adam Smith's position. It was always known that, in his mind, political economy formed but one part of a larger system in which the nature and progress of morals, law, government, wealth, revenue, and arms were to be considered. The *Theory of Moral Sentiments* covered the strictly ethical part of the field; the lectures on "Justice" enable us to understand the treatment of the sections untouched in either of his books. His view of Jurisprudence seems to have been very much that of some German and French writers as to *Naturrecht*, or *Droit naturel*, or what T. H. Green and his followers would call "natural law," though his mode of exposition was much more definite, and his use of historical materials more thorough and enlightening. But a nearer parallel is that of "Political Science" in its modern form. The first part of these Lectures deals with the same subject as the works of Mr. H. Sidgwick, Bluntschli, and Professor Woodrow Wilson.¹ What is the principle of Government? What were the forms of political control? the transition from

¹ H. Sidgwick, *The Elements of* *of the State* (Eng. Trans. of 1st part of *Politics*; J. K. Bluntschli, *The Theory* *his Staatsrecht*); W. Wilson, *The State*.

Monarchy to Aristocracy; the nature and development of the English Constitution; the reciprocal rights of sovereigns and subjects: the character of citizenship—these matters all belong to the domain of “politics” in the scientific sense, and they fill the first division of the lectures on “Justice.” The second division, treating of the family, is equally a part of the same science; and so, too, are property (including succession), contract, and liability for wrongs, which form the subject-matter of the third and concluding division. International law appears as a suitable appendix in the sections which close the lectures as a whole.

Though far inferior in scientific and political interest to the economic part of the course, this contribution to political science deserves some attention, and in its day must have been both instructive and stimulating. As Smith explains at the outset, Grotius was the first who produced a work of this kind in his famous *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. Hobbes, Puffendorf, and Cocceii are referred to in the opening section; but in politics, also, Smith's greatest debt was to Hume, Locke, perhaps, holding a second place, while Montesquieu furnished many historical illustrations.¹

Amongst the noticeable things in this part is the neat exposure of the absurdity of a primitive natural law. After stating that Puffendorf, with the sole intention of refuting Hobbes, had mentioned that man in a state of nature had certain rights, Smith goes on to say that “It in reality serves no purpose to treat of the laws which would take place in a state of nature . . . as there is no such state existing” (p. 2), a fact which Rousseau might have remembered with advantage. Again, Bentham's famous statement that “Property and law are born together and die together” is corrected, and its element of truth at the same

¹ The “division of powers” (page 17) may have been taken from Montesquieu, but the use of the term “federal” rather suggests Locke, *Civil Government*, chap. 12.

time expressed by the declaration that "Property and civil government very much depend on one another. The preservation of property and the inequality of possession first formed it, and the state of property must always vary with the form of government" (p. 8). Hume's effective exposure of the doctrine of the original contract is incorporated in the section on "the original principles of government." The real principles are declared to be "authority and utility," contract being merely a subordinate influence, based on the need for satisfying reasonable expectations. Property and contract are both regarded as "acquired" rights in opposition to the "natural" rights "which a man has to the preservation of his body and reputation from injury" (p. 6). But a curious exception is made for some "exclusive privileges" which are distinguished from property and regarded as "natural."

A final impression that the study of the Lectures leaves on the mind is the descent of the whole body of modern political and economic speculation from the 17th-century system of natural law (or *jus gentium*), itself the product of reflection on the Roman law, in the shape that it was presented by its latest commentators. It is a commonplace since the publication of Maine's *Ancient Law*, that the Grotian system was connected by an irregular filiation with Roman law. Hobbes, Locke, Smith, and even Hume were profoundly affected by this form of thought. We can see how much the classification and exposition in the *Lectures* owe to the terminology and arrangement of the Civil Law. The conditions of modern society have indeed helped to shape, and have supplied the materials for, both Politics and Economics; but both sciences owe their existence to the earlier and less definite system of *Jus gentium*, or natural law.

C. F. BASTABLE.

NOTE ON AN IRISH MONASTIC OFFICE.

AN early Celtic Ecclesiastical Office is sketched on the last page of the Book of Mulling and in the 'Second Vision of Adamnan' (*Leabhar Breac*, f. 258 sq.). Its structure will be sufficiently understood from the following outline, in which the Roman numerals indicate the order of the parts in the Book of Mulling, the Arabic numerals their order in the Vision:—

- | | | | | |
|----------------|----|-------------------------|---|--|
| I. | 2. | Canticle of B. V. M., | . | <i>Magnificat anima mea.</i> |
| II. | 3. | A Hymn of St. Columba, | . | <i>Benedictus in saecula.</i> |
| III. | 1. | "Biait," | . | St. Matt. v. 1 sqq. |
| | 4. | | . | <i>Miserere mei Deus.</i> |
| IV. | 5. | "Patrick's Hymn," | . | <i>Christus illum sibi legit.</i> |
| | | | . | <i>In memoria.¹</i> |
| | | | . | <i>Patricius episcopus.</i> |
| V. | 6. | "Hymn of the Apostles," | . | <i>Inuitiata quo feramus.</i> |
| | | | . | <i>Exaudi nos.</i> |
| VI. | 7. | A Hymn of St. Hilary, | . | <i>Maiestatemque immensam.</i> |
| | | | . | <i>Unitas in trinitate (?)²</i> |
| [VII. ?] | 8. | "Michael's Hymn," | . | <i>In trinitate spes mea.</i> |
| VII. [VIII. ?] | | Creed, &c., | . | <i>Credo in deum patrem.</i> |
| | | | . | <i>Pater noster.</i> |
| | | | . | <i>Ascendat oratio.³</i> |

¹ These two antiphons are not mentioned in the Vision. But "Patrick's Hymn" is followed by antiphons in all the MSS. containing it. Hence we need not doubt that the author of the Vision intended that those found in the Book of Mulling, or others of those usually connected with the hymn, should be used. A similar remark applies to the collects at Nos. v., vi.

² All that can be distinctly read here in the MS. is . . . *nita . . . usq; i finem*. Dr. Bernard (*Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol. i., p. xxiii.) takes this to represent

In trinitate spes mea. If this be correct, the words indicate "Michael's Hymn," and the Book of Mulling corresponds exactly at this place with the Vision. But some marks are visible after *nita*, and they appear to me more like traces of *s* than of *te*. Apart from this, probability is on Dr. Bernard's side, as will further appear below (p. 223).

³ I assume (though this is by no means certain) that some illegible writing follows *Pater noster* in the MS., and restore conjecturally the words which I suppose to have been obliterated.

With a view to determining the purpose for which this office was used, Dr. Bernard¹ reminds us of the context in which it is found in the *Vision of Adamnan*. This vision is in fact a prediction, put into the mouth of Adamnan of Hi, of a visitation of the Yellow Plague, which was to take place on the Festival of the Decollation of St. John Baptist (Aug. 29), unless averted by methods described in the vision. Among the rest is the recitation of our office on certain days. The office then was to be used as a means of securing deliverance from the plague. This appears indisputable; and for the present only one remark need be made with reference to it. The *Vision of Adamnan* is an early document: but in its present form it cannot be older than the Book of Mulling (cent. ix.); for it speaks of tithes,² and contains an unmistakable allusion to the ravages of the Danes.³ The reference to the Danes seems to place it between the middle of the ninth century and the Battle of Clontarf: while the mention of tithes suggests an even later date. But at whatever time the Vision may have been composed, it appears to me that the office which it contains was not compiled by its author, but was already in existence when he wrote. The description given of it is too vague to be of much practical service to men who were expected to use it and were not already familiar with its structure. If the author of the prediction ascribed to Adamnan were putting it forth for the first time, he would almost certainly have given it in a form more nearly resembling that in which it is found in the Book of Mulling. What he may be supposed to have done is of this kind. He took an existing monastic office, and enjoined its reci-

¹ *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol. i., p. xxiv. sqq.

² Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lii.

³ § 12. "Nor shall the fourth which that mortality will leave behind it in the land of Erin be protected from tribula-

tion. . . . § 13. But thereafter heathens who have never believed, with a devil's nature in the bodies of those men, (are) to come to invade them" (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xii., p. 427).

tation on certain days with a special intention. To argue that the same office was not used, both before and after he wrote, on other days and for other purposes, would be unsafe.

But Dr. Bernard's conclusion is confirmed] by the fact that *Benedictus* (No. II.) forms part of the office. This is in fact part of the hymn (or medley), *Noli Pater*, ascribed to St. Columba.¹ It commemorates the Baptist, which recalls the prediction that the plague would begin on his festival. The word 'uridine' in its first stanza is glossed in the Trinity College copy of the *Book of Hymns*, 'i.e. by Fire; or by Yellow Plague.' And the Irish Preface has a statement pointing in the same direction, which it is necessary to quote² :—

"Now the fire from its size threatened to burn the whole oak-wood, and to protect it this hymn was composed. Or it was the Day of Judgement that he [St. Columba] had in mind, or *the fire of John's Feast*, and it is sung against every fire and every thunder from that time to this."

There can be no doubt that Dr. Bernard is right³ in taking the 'fire of John's Feast' to mean the Yellow Plague, the ravages of which were to commence on the Festival of the Decollation.

Some time previous to the appearance of Dr. Bernard's discussion of the office now under consideration, the writer of this Paper had suggested⁴ that it was intended for daily use. It is impossible here to repeat the arguments by which this contention was supported. But it must be admitted that they are not so convincing as those of Dr. Bernard. If the two views are irreconcilable his must be preferred. That they are not really at variance with one

¹ *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, i., 88.

² *Ib.*, i., 87; ii., 28.

³ *Ib.*, ii., 171 sq.

⁴ *Chapters on the Book of Mulling*, p. 157 sqq.

another I have however already hinted. It is quite conceivable that the office, incorporated with the *Vision of Adamnan* for a special purpose, may have been originally intended for daily morning or evening recitation. And as so recited, it may have been regarded as a protection against the plague. Whether this was so must be judged apart from the evidence supplied by the *Vision*.

Before going further, I must transcribe some portions of the *Second Vision of Adamnan*, to which I shall have occasion to refer hereafter.¹

"1. Vae meritricibus et peccatoribus qui sicut foenum et stipula concremabuntur a bura ignita in anno bisextili et embolesmi et in fine circuli² et in Decollatione Johannis Bautistae. 2. In sexta feria autem conveniet in illo anno, nisi [populus] deuota poenitentia prohibuerit. . . . 5. One mortality will visit them after another until the mortality of the feast of John. . . . 6. It is he (Patrick) who will be their judge and their advocate on Doomsday. And also it is he that, in mercy to their bodies and their souls, permitteth not the plague of fire to come to them. . . . 9. All the saints of Ireland, save only Patrick, entreat that the mortality may come. 10. Indescribable and unendurable is the plague that will come there, unless it is devoutly provided against. To wit, a flame of fire. . . . And that is the fire which . . . will burn up three-fourths of the men of Ireland. . . . 17. Every harm is ripe to come, . . . unless God's mercy overcome them . . . through Patrick's prayer to the Lord that his mercy may descend upon them. 18. These, then, are the four commands that were given by God and Patrick to bear back the plague from the men of Ireland, to wit (1) a three days fast (*fredan*) every three months. . . . 22. [namely, on] the first Friday³ after the shrove-tide of Lent of winter. . . . 23. the Wed-

¹ I quote from Stokes' translation in the *Revue Celtique*, xii., p. 423 *sqq.* He translates a *bura* 'by a fire,' referring to Du Cange *s. v.* *Burae*.

² That is, of course, at the end of a lunar cycle of nineteen years.

³ This must surely be an error. A three days' fast beginning on Friday would include Sunday. We should probably read "Wednesday," as in §§ 23, 24, 25.

nesday after the shrove-tide of the Lent of spring. . . . 24. the Wednesday after Pentecost, . . . 25. the Wednesday after the beginning of autumn. 26. (Let there be) fasting, too, always on the feast of John the Baptist."

II.

The remarks just made and the passages quoted from the *Liber Hymnorum* may be illustrated by some statements of the Irish Annalists, which it now becomes our business to lay before the reader.

1. We turn first to the entries respecting a pestilence which visited the country in the autumn of 1095, and the events of the following year. Under 1095 the *Four Masters* mention that this pestilence extended throughout the whole of Europe, and they give a list of distinguished persons who died of it in Ireland. Under 1096 they have the following record:—

"The festival of John fell on Friday this year; the men of Ireland were seized with great fear in consequence, and the resolution adopted by the clergy of Ireland, with the successor of Patrick, to protect them against the pestilence which had been predicted to them at a remote period, was, to command all in general to observe abstinence, from Wednesday till Sunday, every month, and to fast¹ every day till the end of a year, except on Sundays, solemnities, and great festivals; and they also made alms and many offerings to God; . . . and the men of Ireland were saved for that time from the fire of vengeance."

This passage invites some comment. In the first place we have the assertion that 'the festival of John fell on Friday.' Now the only 'festival of John' (Evangelist or Baptist) of which this was true in 1096 was the Feast of the Decollation (Aug. 29). This is a plain proof (so far as a single instance can prove anything) that when the 'Feast

¹ O'Donovan adds "[on one meal]": why, I do not know.

of John' is mentioned by Irish writers without further description, it is the Decollation which is referred to (cf. *Visio*, §§ 5, 26, above). Again, the plague is called the 'fire of vengeance' (cf. *Visio*, §§ 1, 6, 10). And in fact the plague, of the coming of which the Irish were in such constant dread, is scarcely ever spoken of without an allusion to fire or heat. With these facts before us we can have little doubt as to the meaning of 'fire of John's Feast' in the Preface to *Noli Pater* (above p. 214).

Plainly the Four Masters mean us to understand that the appearance of the plague in 1095, coupled with the fact that Aug. 29 coincided with Friday in 1096, produced fear of a fresh outbreak in the latter year. If so, some form of the prediction of Adamnan must have been well known, for in it we are informed (*Visio*, § 1) that the pestilence would begin on St. John's Day, on Friday, and in a leap year.¹ In this connexion the prominent part taken by the 'coarb of Patrick' in averting the calamity should be noticed. The *Vision* is most emphatic (§§ 6, 17) that Patrick, though opposed by all the other saints of Ireland (§ 9) would be the deliverer in the year of the mortality.

But we must be careful to observe that the method of expiation employed was different from that enjoined in the *Vision*. The three days' fast² instead of being quarterly is monthly; there is no mention of a special fast on St. John's Day; and in addition to the monthly fast of three days there is a *daily* fast to the end of a (i the) year. All this is of the highest interest. It proves that the means of guarding

¹ The year 1096 was not, however, 'in fine circuli' (see MacCarthy, *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, 830, R.I.A. Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii. p. 376), nor 'was the course recommended by the clergy of that period, and acted upon by both laity and clergy, strictly in accordance with the instructions laid down in' the *Vision*: facts which dis-

pose of a good deal of O'Curry's argument (*Manuscript Materials*, p. 425) for dating the *Vision* 'immediately or shortly before' 1096.

² The parallel entry in the *Chronicon Scotorum* proves that the fast "from Wednesday till Sunday" was really one of three days (*tredan*), though the words seem to point to a longer period.

against the Yellow Plague laid down in the Vision were not universally used. If we may assume that the Mulling, or some analogous office, was recited at the various fasts prescribed, we have an actual instance of its use as a *daily* service, and yet as a protective against the plague.

2. But we must pass on to our next extract from the Annals. We open now Mageoghegan's English rendering of the Annals of Clonmacnoise (ed. Murphy). The events of the two years—1095-6—with which we are concerned, are there recorded as having taken place in the single year 1094. In the passage now quoted, I underline a few noteworthy phrases, and content myself with calling special attention to one of them. For the daily fast of the Four Masters, Mageoghegan has daily prayers. The word 'prayer' was loosely used in Irish, being often applied even to psalms: so that these 'prayers' may well have been just such a collection of canticles with collects interspersed, as we find in the office which we are considering. But it is idle to insist on the phrases of a translation, the original of which is not accessible. The account which Mageoghegan gives of the incidents connected with the plague is as follows:—

"There was a great mortality and pleauge all over Europe this yeare, in soe much that it Depopulated great provinces and contryes, there was not such a pestilence in this Kingdome since the death of the sonnns of King Hugh Slane (that died of the Disease called Boye Konneall) untill this present year, of which disease the ensueing noblemen with infinite numbers of meaner sort died, vidz'. . . . The king and subjects seeing the plague continue *with such heat* with them, were stricken with great terrour, for appeasing of which plague the Clergie of Ireland thought good to cause all the inhabitants of the kingdome in generall to *fast from Wensday to Sunday once every month* for the space of one yeare, except solmne and great festivall dayes, they alsoe appointed *certain prayers to be dayly said*."

3. The following extract from the *Chronicon Scotorum* (ed. Hennessy) may be left to speak for itself. I only remark that the monthly fast 'from Wednesday till Sunday' of the *Annals* already cited is here explained to mean a three-days' fast (*tredan*).

[1091]¹ This year was the *year of the heat* (*bliadain na tesca*)² so that there is no reckoning the number of people whom it killed. . . .

[1092]¹ This year was the year of the *festival of John* on *Friday*, and great fear seized the men of Erin on account thereof; and the resolution arrived at by the clergy of Erin to banish it was, (to order) *an abstinence of three days* (*trede-nus*) *each month*, and a *fast each day, to the end of a year*, and almsgiving to the Lord.

4. The corresponding entries in the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Loch Cé* are in such close agreement that it will suffice to quote the latter (ed. Hennessy), noting one important variant.

"A.D. 1095. . . . A great pestilence in Erin, which killed a large multitude of people, from the kalends of August to the May[-day] following, viz.:—it was called a 'mortal year.' . . .

A.D. 1096. . . . Great terror over the men of all Erin before the *festival of John* of this year; but God and Patrick [*Ann. Ult.* omit these two words] saved them through the fastings of the *comarb of Patrick* and the clerics of Erin besides."

We have already seen that the *coarb* of Patrick took a leading part in the deliverance of Ireland from the scourge of the plague in 1096, and we have noted the fact that this is in accordance with what the *Vision* might have led us

¹ These dates are, of course, incorrect: see Hennessy's Introduction, p. xlv.

² Compare the brief entries in the *Annals* from the *Book of Leinster*

(Stokes' *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 526 sq.): "The plague of the heat (*tridm natesscha*). [1092] The fear of the festival of John."

to anticipate. But in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, as now quoted, we meet for the first (indeed I believe the only) time in the Annals with direct mention of St. Patrick as the saviour of the people from the impending calamity. The fact that he was so regarded enables us to account for the presence of one, or perhaps two hymns, in our office, which otherwise we might not have expected to find there. If Patrick, opposed by his fellow-saints, was to effect the aversion of the plague, it was very natural that 'Patrick's Hymn' (No. IV.)—the Hymn, that is, composed by Sechnall in his honour—with its antiphons, should be given a place in the office. It was before all things necessary that he should be propitiated. But 'Patrick's Hymn' is followed by the Hymn of Cummin Fota in honour of the Apostles (v.). How are we to account for this fact? Most readily. For in Cummin's somewhat peculiar list of seventeen apostles the name of Patrick appears¹:

Patrici patris obsecremus merita
ut deo digna perpetremus opera alleuia

5. We have already had instances in sufficient number of the association in the mind of the Irish of the dreaded Yellow Plague with the notions of heat and fire. And nothing can be more natural than that an epidemic of fever should be described as a 'plague of heat' or the 'fire of John.'² But I think good evidence can be given that, though the pestilence might be called 'the fire,' this was no mere figure of speech. The fire and the Yellow Plague were different things, though connected together. The fire in fact was the *physical cause* of the plague. In proof of this statement several passages of the Annals may be

¹ I assume that this stanza occurred in the recension of the hymn known to the compiler of the office. It was not part of the hymn as originally written (see *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol.

ii., p. 112), though probably an early insertion, as it has no metrical anomalies (*ib.*, p. xx).

² Cf. Du Cange, s. v. Ignis Silvester.

quoted. I begin with O'Connor's rendering of a few sentences of Tigernach, which are placed by his editor¹ opposite the date A.D. 1084.

"Pestilentia magna anno isto, e qua mortui sunt centeni Hibernorum. Incepit a calore et insolita siccitate, per quatuor Regiones Hiberniae. Causa pestilentiae istius fuit, gens quaedam quae venit in Insulas mundi boreales. . . . Et ubicumque irent, eorum febris et calor ibi; et ibi eorum lues, habebat enim *unus quisque eorum gladium ignitum in gutture suo, et quocumque irent exciabant ibi vapores venenosos. Talis fuit causa pestilentiae istius.*"

6. Our next illustration will be taken from an earlier part of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (A.D. 767), and the *Annals of Ulster* (A.D. 771). The entries evidently relate to the same event. Let us take that which is found in the *Annals of Ulster* (ed. Hennessy) first.

"The fair of the clapping of hands in which occurred *lightning and thunder* like unto the *day of judgement*. The clapping of hands *on the festival of St. Michael*, of which was said the 'fire from heaven.' . . . The Goidhil fasted *two tredans* together, and only one meal between them, through *fear of the fire.*"

It will be observed that the means taken for averting 'the fire' were not unlike those enjoined for warding off the plague. The resemblance will become clearer when we place beside this passage its parallel from the *Four Masters*. What was 'the fire' which was feared? Apparently a recurrence of the thunder-storm. But before committing ourselves let us listen to the Four Masters:—

"The fair of the clapping of hands, [so-called] because terrific and horrible signs appeared at the time, which were like unto the *signs of the day of judgement*, namely, great *thunder and lightning*, so that it was insufferable to all to hear the one and see the other. Fear and horror seized the men of Ireland, so that their religious seniors ordered them to make *two fasts*, together with *fervent*

¹ O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, ii., 312.

prayer, and one meal between them, to protect and save them *from a pestilence*, precisely at *Michaelmas*. Hence came the Lamhchomart [clapping of hands], which was called the Fire from heaven.¹

Comparing these two passages together there can, I believe, be no doubt that the 'fire from heaven,' the storm of lightning, was regarded as the *cause* of pestilence.¹ And so the Festival of Michael (Sept. 29) became a day of nearly as ill-omen as the Festival of John (Aug. 29). With the one was associated the fire which produced the plague, with the other the plague itself. Twenty or thirty years after the events now referred to, a dread of the 'fire' seems again to have taken hold of the Irish. For we read (*F.M.* 794, *Ann. Ul.* 798):

"The Lamhchomhairt at the *Michaelmas* of this year, which was called the *fire* from heaven."

Now if the inference be admitted which these passages seem to warrant, we have some food for reflection.

(a) We can understand why the glossator explained 'uridine' by 'fire *or* the Yellow Plague' (above p. 214). In his view the hymn *Noli Pater* might be used with either of two (related) intentions—as a preservative against fire or against the plague.

(b) We are no longer at a loss to explain the vacillation of the writer of the preface. St. Columba composed this hymn with reference either to the fire in the oak-wood, or to the Day of Judgement, or to the 'fire of John's Feast' (bringing in its wake the Yellow Plague), and it is sung 'against *every* fire and every *thunder*.' And we may observe that the connexion of the terrors of the Day of Judgement with the plague is not peculiar to the author of the Preface. Exactly the same juxtaposition is found in the *Vision* (§ 6).

¹ Further illustrations of this belief *script Materials*, pp. 402, 426. might be cited from O'Curry, *Manu-*

(c) The conjecture is suggested that we take too narrow a view of the purpose of our office if we limit its supposed efficacy to warding off the pestilence. It availed as a preservative against all kinds of evils connected with fire. And so it might be used at other times, and with other objects in view, in addition to those mentioned in the *Vision*. And, in any case,

(d) We can give a good account of the use of 'Michael's Hymn' in the office, at least as it appears in the *Vision*. *Benedictus* is naturally recited because the plague was to begin on the feast of the Decollation of the Baptist; 'Patrick's Hymn' and the 'Hymn of the Apostles' because St. Patrick was the predicted deliverer; 'Michael's Hymn' just as naturally, because the coming of the 'fire from heaven' was associated with the 'Feast of Michael.'¹

III.

My argument for the daily use of our office depends in part—as does some of the reasoning of this paper—on the assumption that the hymn *Benedictus* is rightly identified with St. Columba's *Noli Pater*. Dr. Bernard's proof that the office was connected with the Yellow Plague will be more entirely satisfactory if this assumption is correct. The identification can scarcely be described as certain, but it is worth noting that the only serious objection to it has been removed by the appearance of Dr. Atkinson's discussion of the Irish Metric.²

It was customary among the Irish, in the recitation of hymns, to regard the last three stanzas as the equivalent of the whole: and of this practice at least three examples

¹ Compare *Visio*, § 9, 'Now the three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the Irish, provided that these commands be fulfilled, are Peter the Apostle [named first among the

seventeen apostles of Cummin's Hymn], and Mary the Virgin [whose *Magnificat* is in the office], and *Michael the Archangel*.'

² *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol. ii.

occur in our office, the hymns of Sechnall (iv.), Cummain Fota (v.), and Hilary of Poitiers (vi.), being represented in the Book of Mulling in each case by the three final stanzas. Now the piece (II. 3) which appears as *Benedictus* in the *Vision* is denoted in the Book of Mulling by the words *Benedictus usq; ioh . . .* and the space occupied by the illegible letters is sufficient for [*annem baptistam precursorem domini*]. If these letters be supplied the reference will be to the *three stanzas* contained in ll. 7-11 of the hymn *Noli Pater*.¹ But these three stanzas are not the *last* three, and I am not able to cite any other instance of three medial stanzas being used as a substitute for an entire hymn. This is the objection to the identification. I now proceed to show how Dr. Atkinson's researches enable us to deal with it.

It appears from his examination of the structure of the metrical pieces in the *Liber Hymnorum* that in several cases the concluding stanzas are not part of the original poems, but have been added to them at times subsequent to the date of their composition.² Among the hymns treated in this way are our Nos. v, vi. Our office, therefore, gives proof that in the ninth century the same spurious endings as are found in the MSS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* had already become attached to these two hymns and were regarded as part of them. This is a valuable proof of the great antiquity of the hymns, and so far an indication that they are correctly ascribed to the writers whose names they bear. The case of St. Hilary's hymn is specially remarkable; for, according to Dr. Atkinson, no one of the three stanzas by which it is represented in the Book of Mulling really belongs to it.

Now the hymn *Noli Pater* has suffered more seriously both from mutilation and addition than any other in the collection. Dr. Atkinson admits the genuineness of the

¹ *Ib.*, vol. i., p. 88.

² *Ib.*, vol. ii., pp. xii, xxi, xxv.

first three stanzas, with the doubtful exception of their last line: but of the remainder he writes: 'The fourth [beginning *Benedictus in saecula*] is not quite so good; the fifth has no harmony and is incomplete; and the remaining pair of stanzas have nothing to do with this poem at all.' We must add that they have nothing to do with each other: for who will point out any connexion between the following stanzas?—

Elizabeth et Zacharias virum magnum genuit
Iohannem baptizam precursorem domini

Manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

It is clear then that the hymn has reached its present state by successive additions. There is nothing violent in the supposition that when the office under discussion was composed, the lines *Manet in meo corde*, &c. had not settled down into their place as its concluding stanza. In fact the hymn then ended with *Iohannem baptizam precursorem domini*, and our three stanzas were its *final* stanzas. If we were sure that this was the case, the identification of *Benedictus* with *Noli Pater* would be absolutely certain.

It must not be inferred, however, that the hymn ended with *precursorem domini* when the Book of Mulling was written. If the scribe of the office in that manuscript had known of no copies with any addition after these words he would simply have written *Benedictus usque in finem*, or its Irish equivalent *Benedictus conrici dead*, according to his usage in other cases where there is no ambiguity. Already, then, in the ninth century the hymn possessed its spurious closing stanza, and our office may perhaps claim a higher antiquity than the earliest sketch of it which remains.

H. J. LAWLOR.

TWO EMENDATIONS IN THE *POETICS*.

1458 a. 32 (Bekker).

METAPHORS and γλῶτται must not be too frequent :
yet they are desirable—

δεῖ ἄρα κεκρίσθαι πως τούτοις MSS.

κεκρᾶσθαι, Maggi. It is not proved that Arabs had it.
But why should κεκρᾶσθαι become κεκρίσθαι? and what is
the peculiarity in κεκρᾶσθαι to require πως?

Read—

κεχρίσθαι πως,

where πως qualifies the metaphor, “must be coloured
(tinted) so to speak.”

1458 b. 13.

Moderate use of this figure is good, but—

τὸ μὲν οὖν φαίνεσθαι πως χρώμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γελοῖον.

ἀπρεπῶς, Twining : πάντως, Hermann. I once saw
<ἀναισθή>τως in φαίνεσθαι πως : but I now see

φαίνεσθαι <ἀεί> πως,

“to be *always* at it, so to speak.”

T. G. TUCKER.

ON THE RECOVERY OF A MISSING SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT OF THE APOCALYPSE.

IT is with much satisfaction that I find myself enabled to report that the manuscript of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which is known to have been No. 724 in the Library of the Dominican Convent of San Marco, Florence, down to the close of the last century, but which has long been supposed to be lost, is forthcoming, and readily accessible in the principal Library of that city.

For this knowledge I am indebted to the Rev. William Emery Barnes, D.D., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Early last year, when about to visit the Florentine and Roman Libraries, he was so obliging as to volunteer his services in seeking for me whatever information I desired to obtain from any of the manuscripts which those Libraries contained. I thankfully accepted the offer so generously made, and requested him to inquire whether anything could be learned in Florence of the fate of the missing manuscript, either at the (now secularized) Convent, or the Mediceo-Laurentian Library. A few weeks later I received from him a letter written at Florence on 27th March, in which he informed me that the entire collection of books and MSS. formerly kept in the Convent had been transferred to that Library, and that the MS. in question was there among the rest, in its place, and still bearing as in the eighteenth century its number 724. With his letter he enclosed a copy of the entries in Syriac appended to the MS. by the scribe, and of several of the marginal notes which accompany its text,

(After yet another like interval)—

(iii.) **ረዕሰ ሐሳብ፡** ስለጥያቄው ስለሚገኝበት ሁኔታ፡

There are thus three complete Syriac notes in all, besides the two unfinished beginnings; all written by the same hand as that which wrote the text preceding.

The upper part of this last page, above the Syriac notes, is occupied by an entry in Latin of five lines, in a hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, which recorded the name of the donor of the book to the Convent Library, and the date of his gift. This entry has been studiously obliterated by pen strokes; but a much later hand has interlined a partial restoration of the defaced words, sufficient to show that the donor was "Fr. Joannes Baptista Leopardus."

A longer Latin note, in a hand which I take to be a century later, follows the last Syriac note, filling the rest of the page, and reads as follows :—

"Versio Syriaca Apocalypsis S. Johannis: Amanuensis scribit se eandem ab autographo antiquissimo descripsisse, cuius ætas anno Alexandræo millesimo octingentesimo septimo ad annum nongentesimum sexagesimum peruenerat nempe anno xpi, [1686] 1582, quo anno exemplar hoc fuit descriptum à Jacobo Hesronita: Autographum scripsit Thomas Heracleensis."

A later hand has interlined *Romae* after *Hesronita*. The word *Heracleensis* has been obliterated with the pen, and a different hand has written—

“de Charkel, qui in Poliglottis Londinensibus
audit Thomas Heracleensis sed malè.”

The writer of this last entry thus professes to give the substance of the preceding Syriac notes,—though, as will

¹ So written, but blotted out.

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presently appear, he does so incorrectly, when he writes *octingentesimo septimo*, omitting *octogesimo*, which ought to come between. I proceed, therefore, to translate these notes, with a view to comparing their contents with his summary.

Note i. is very explicit—

“[This] was transcribed in the year 1582 in the city Rome, by the hands of the humble Jacob of Ḥesron, from the autograph of Thomas of Ḥarkel. Praying the discerning [and] honourable reader not to blame my humbleness, for that I was still a youth, yet I say not a youth but a child and a beginner in learning and in calligraphy, and in every sort of learning, I, the poor Jacob of Ḥesron, son of the Archdeacon¹ Ḥathīm, who is son of the Archdeacon Simeon of Manōf.”

(The two brief and broken entries which follow are two unsuccessful attempts to write what I reckon as)

Note ii., which says—

“Know that from the year in which the volume [*k'thobhūnō* = *libellus*, *booklet*] was written, from which I transcribed this Revelation, there are in correct number nine hundred and twenty and seven years.”

(The former of the two incomplete entries gives but one full word of this, *From*, followed by 𐤀, the scribe having evidently meant to write 𐤀𐤁𐤁 (= *the year*). The second reads, “Know that the volume [*k'thobhūnō*, as above] from which I transcribed this Revelation,”—with 𐤀 following; evidently the beginning of some word from the root 𐤀𐤁𐤁 = *to write*).

Note iii. completes the information given by the scribe—

“To the year 1887 of the Greeks, it is 960 years from when this volume [*k'thobhūnō* again] was written.”

¹ Or perhaps “Subdeacon” is intended: the word is, in either view, misspelt.

It is to be noted that the verb above rendered "transcribe" (ܬܠܝܬ) is a very rare one—in this sense Arabic rather than Syriac; and that it appears in notes i. and (both forms of) ii., but not in iii.

From note i. we learn the early history of our MS. :—

(a) *Its age*.—It was written in 1582, and is therefore coeval with the Leiden MS. whence the Syriac Apocalypse was first printed, the scribe of which (Caspar) is known to have been employed in his calling in 1580.¹

(b) *The name and nationality of the scribe*.—Jacob, of Hesron—a Maronite therefore, for Hesron is a town in the Patriarchate of the Lebanon.² The handwriting, accordingly, is a well-marked example of the Maronite type.

(c) *The place of writing*.—Rome, in which city many Maronites found a temporary, some a permanent, abode—from the time—some four centuries before the above date—when the Maronite Church, more or less formally, submitted itself to the Roman supremacy.

(d) *The source whence the text was derived*.—An exemplar bearing the subscription of Thomas of Harkel, who is known to have issued in the year of our Lord 616 the version of the New Testament called after him the "Harkleian." This exemplar was a *small* volume (*k'thobhūnō* = βιβλαρίδιον, the word which describes the "little book" of Apoc. x. 8-10); it therefore, presumably, contained the Apocalypse alone. Jacob believed it to be written by the hand of Thomas, evidently supposing him to be a scribe merely, in ignorance of his work as a translator.

As regards Notes ii. and iii., it is to be observed that they relate to the exemplar, the *k'thobhūnō* above-mentioned.

¹ In that year is dated the MS. of the Syriac *Order of Baptism*, written by the same Caspar, and now in the Library of the Orphan-House at Halle.

² For Hesron (*Hasroun*) see Lord Lindsay's *Letters on the Holy Land*, vol. ii., pp. 223, 224 (3rd edition). It has long ceased to be an Episcopal see.

They appear to be two attempts to define the age of the exemplar; but they are perplexing at first sight, inasmuch as their numerical results seem to disagree. From ii. we seem to learn that its date was 927 years before the year in which Jacob copied it (1582), which would assign it to the year ($1582 - 927 =$) 655. But in iii. it is distinctly stated to have been written 960 years before A. Gr. 1887 (which is A.D. 1576)—that is, in A. Gr. ($1887 - 960 =$) 927; which is A.D. ($1576 - 960 =$) 616. There is thus a discrepancy of 39 years between the two Notes.

But this disagreement admits of satisfactory reconciliation—a reconciliation too, which, in bringing Notes ii. and iii. into harmony, draws from each of them a confirmation of Jacob's statement in Note i.—so far as this, that they prove his exemplar to have contained a subscription, or colophon, such as is usually found at the end of the Gospels in the version of Thomas of Harkel.

For Note iii., as we have seen,¹ determines A. Gr. 927, which is A.D. 616, as the date of the exemplar; and this, as the Harkleian colophon states, is the year in which the Harkleian version was made. "Written and collated," (writes Thomas) "in the year of Alexander nine hundred and twenty-seven." It is surely more than a mere coincidence, that this very number, 927, thus deduced from Note iii., is the number directly stated in Note ii., seemingly as the age of the exemplar. As regards the figures, there is exact agreement: as regards the facts to which they apply, there is apparent contradiction. Note iii. places the writing of the exemplar 960 years before A. Gr. 1887; that is, in A. Gr. 927: Note ii. seems to fix its age in A.D. 1582, at the same figure, 927. But this numerical agreement involves an impossibility—that a book which was 960 years old in A.D. 1576 (= A. Gr. 1887) could be 927 years old in A.D. 1582.

It is plain that the statement of Note iii. is to be

accepted as correct, for it agrees (and the agreement is only implied in its figures, not directly stated) with the known date of Thomas, to whom Note i. ascribes the exemplar whence our MS. was copied. The statement of Note ii. can therefore be accepted only as conveying—not (as its words naturally express) that 927 years elapsed from the writing of the exemplar to the writing of the copy, but—that 927 years were the interval from the writing of the exemplar, reckoning back to the era of Alexander: in other words, that 927 expresses not its *age*, but its *date*. Either this is what Jacob meant to say in Note ii., though he has said it imperfectly: or (which is more probable) this is what he would have said if he had not misunderstood the Harkleian colophon, which he must have had before his eyes.

But why (one naturally asks) does Jacob, writing in 1582, state the age of his exemplar, not as it is in 1582, but as it was in 1576? The obvious thing for him to write would be, of course, “To this year 1582 it is 966 years since the exemplar was written.” It was as easy for him to subtract 927 from 1582 as from 1576. To this the answer is plain, and it is the only one possible. Note iii. is not his own: he did not compose it as he composed Notes i. and ii.: he has merely transcribed it from an entry which he found appended to, or endorsed on, his exemplar, an entry written (of course in 1576—for why else should the age of the book be computed for that year?) by someone in whose hands it was, and who understood the date A. Gr. it bore, in that year. Indeed, the very wording of this note implies that it was originally written on the exemplar whose age it states,—“*This* little book,” it says—not, as Note ii., “The little book whence I transcribed this,” or “The said little book” (هذا الكتاب).

Thus the explanation I have to offer of these two notes,

amounts to this, and, if accepted, it covers the whole of the facts before us.

1. In 1582, one Jacob, a young Maronite scribe, inexperienced and imperfectly educated—for so he describes himself, and (as it appears) justly—has before him as exemplar a small volume containing the Apocalypse, and probably no other book, in Syriac; and from it he transcribes the text of that book.

2. He finds appended to this volume a colophon, similar to that which occurs in most MSS. of the Gospels in the Harkleian version, and which, with slight variations, invariably states that the text was “collated and *written* by me the wretched Thomas, in the year of Alexander nine hundred and twenty-seven.” This he misapprehends as meaning that Thomas was the scribe of the exemplar,¹ in ignorance perhaps of the fact that he was a translator; and under this mistake he writes note i.

3. He then proceeds to deal with the date given in the colophon; but finds a difficulty in so doing, which he betrays by making two abortive attempts at it. Either, his command of Syriac is not sufficient to enable him to express the meaning which he attaches to the figures before him; or else he is uncertain what they mean—being not improbably unacquainted with the “Era of Alexander” or “of the Greeks.” Accordingly, when, at a third attempt, he writes Note ii., he leaves it in a somewhat indefinite shape. If, as its language naturally conveys, he intends to state 927 years as the *age* of his exemplar at the time

¹ Even scholars of ripe experience have made the same mistake. Stephen Evodius Assemani (followed by Cardinal Mai), on the evidence of the same colophon, believed the copy of the Harkleian Gospels, numbered by him as I., in his list of the Harkleian MSS. of his uncle, Joseph Simon Asse-

mani (now Vat. Syr. 268 in Mai's Catalogue), to be the autograph of Thomas. See S. E. Assemani's *Letter*, in White's edition of the Harkleian New Testament, vol. i., pp. 641-645; also Mai, *Vet. Scriptorum Nova Collectio*, tom. v., p. 4.

when he copied it, then he has not merely made a mistake, but it is a mistake which convicts him as being ignorant of the meaning of "the year of the Greeks, 1887" in his next note (iii.); for if he had known that it was the same as the year of Christ, 1576, he could not have failed (young and unlearned though he owns himself to be) to perceive that the book which was 960 years old in 1576, could not have gone back to the age of 927, six years later, in 1582. But if what Note ii. means is, that 927 (A. Gr.) was the *date* of his exemplar, then he has rightly stated the time when Thomas did his work; but has not succeeded in expressing his statement clearly. Note ii., under this supposition, is to be taken as if it ran, "From the year when the exemplar was written whence I have transcribed this text, there are 927 years [counted back to the Era of Alexander]." But this is to read into the note what the writer has neither said nor suggested; and the former supposition, that the chronological system by which the date 927 is reckoned was unknown to him, is to be preferred. It is confirmed by the fact that he dates his own handiwork by the year A.D.; and it is probable that among Maronites bred, as he presumably was, at Rome, the "Era of the Greeks" had fallen not only out of use, but out of general knowledge.

4. Finally, he adds Note iii., a note not like the former two composed by himself out of the Harkleian colophon of the exemplar, but simply copied from a memorandum which had been entered in the exemplar by a quite recent hand—but six years before, in 1576;—the hand of a more intelligent and better instructed reader of that colophon (not improbably the owner of the "little book"), who knew what was meant by "the year 927 of Alexander" and was able to date his note accordingly by "the year of the Greeks, 1887," and who, by subtracting the former date from the latter, arrived correctly at 960 years as the age of the text contained in the book—though he erred, as Jacob

did after him, and as learned men have done in like case, in supposing the age so computed to be that of the actual exemplar in his hands.

Whether the above theory is or is not to be accepted as an exact representation of the process by which these notes were constructed, two results at least emerge unquestionably from our examination of them :—

(a) That Notes ii. and iii., though seemingly inconsistent *inter se*, prove, on scrutiny, to agree in the number 927—an agreement all the more noteworthy because elicited out of apparent contradiction, and also because the number is directly stated in ii., and only reached by inference in iii.

(b) That Notes ii. and iii., by thus determining 927 as a number in some way pertaining to the archetype whence our MS. was copied, confirm Note i. in what we learn from it, that the name of Thomas¹ was attached to that archetype. The concurrence of that name and that number cannot be casual; it is to be accounted for only by the fact (which it implies), that all three notes are based upon a Harkleian colophon appended to the archetype, in which Thomas was named as the writer and his date fixed at A. Gr. 927. The very mistakes of our scribe prove his *bona fides*; he evidently knew nothing of the Harkleian New Testament, nothing of the Syrian system of chronology. He lacked therefore the knowledge that would have been necessary for him had he been attempting to assign a false author and a false date to the version which he had transcribed.²

¹ The only point in these three notes which is not to be found in the Harkleian colophon in any (so far as I can find) of its extant forms, is the addition of the local designation “of

Harkel” to the name Thomas. In the exemplar used by Jacob, however, it was apparently so added.

² Marsh, in his edition (1823) of J. D. Michaelis’ *Introduction*, vol. I.,

In the recovery, therefore, of this manuscript, we not only have an important reinforcement to the scanty list of authorities for the Syriac text of the Apocalypse in the version which for more than 200 years has been usually printed in Syriac New Testaments, but farther, we gain external evidence, in the form of three direct and mutually confirmatory statements, to the fact that it belongs to the New Testament as translated into Syriac by Thomas of Harkel, A.D. 616—statements entirely agreeing with and corroborating the external evidence to the same effect, derivable from its manner and diction. Elsewhere¹ I have given my reasons for holding (as Ridley did,² and after him White³ and other competent scholars) that in both language and method this version (which I have designated as Σ) is thoroughly Harkleian;—in opposition to Adler, who, on grounds demonstrably erroneous, rejected that view.⁴ Our MS. now comes in as a direct witness to the fact, that its text of the Apocalypse is copied from an exemplar which bore the distinctive Harkleian colophon.

Another Harkleian characteristic appears in it throughout: an *apparatus* of marginal readings and glosses, and

pt. ii., p. 562, discredits the "veracity" of Jacob; but unjustly, and on the quite inadequate ground that Ridley's MS. of the Harkleian N. T. (New Coll. Oxford, 333) "contains the four catholic epistles which are wanting in the Peshito, but not the Revelation, whence it is reasonable to conclude that this book was never published by Thomas of Harkel." Ridley's MS. is mutilated at the end, and therefore cannot be assumed never to have contained the Revelation. It is true that the Cambridge University Library's MS. of the same (Add. 1700), which is entire, ex-

hibits the whole N.T. except this Book. But the absence of the Book from this or that MS. is no proof that it did not form part of Thomas's complete work; it may be due merely to the fact that the Revelation was not usually read in Church.

¹ *Transactions of R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii., p. 304 ff. *The Apocalypse from a Ms. of the Earl of Crawford*, p. xxvii. ff.

² *De Syriacis N. T. Versionibus*, p. 39.

³ *Versio Philox.*, tom. i., p. xv.

⁴ *Versiones Syr.*, p. 78.

of marks indicating textual omissions or insertions, such as are found in most Harkleian MSS.; inserted, apparently, by Thomas—as by his co-worker, Paul of Tella, in his version of the Old Testament from the Hexaplar Greek—in imitation of the Origenian texts of the Septuagint. In the Dublin MS. (*d*) of Σ , a very few such *marginalia* occur; one in the Nitrian MS. (*n*) of the same, now in the British Museum. In the Leiden MS. (*l*), from which the printed text is derived, there is none of these; but many asterisks are inserted, after Origen's fashion, in its text. I may here mention that the one marginal note of *n* (ܒܡܫܚܬܐ for ܒܡܫܚܬܐ—*first* [day] of the week for Lord's [day] at i. 10) appears in our Florentine MS. (*f*), as does also one of those found in *d* (ܒܡܫܚܬܐ for ܒܡܫܚܬܐ—*ἀγγέλων* for *ὑδάρων* at v. 11). And (in anticipation of what I have presently to relate) I think it convenient to add here that another MS. (*r*), examined by Dr. Barnes in the Vatican Library, exhibits both of these, and likewise a second of *d*'s notes (ܒܡܫܚܬܐ for ܒܡܫܚܬܐ—*ἀνοίξω* for *ἀν ἡξω* at ii. 25). Some also of the asterisks of *l* occur in *f*, as *e.g.* before ܒܡܫܚܬܐ ܥܪܝܐ = *αὐτὸς ἀνοίξει* (v. 5), where nearly all other authorities read *ἀνοίξαι*, and *αὐτός* is quite unattested.

The Vatican MS. above mentioned is one of two farther accessions to the materials for determining the text of Σ , for which Biblical students are indebted to Dr. Barnes's researches of last year. In the Mediceo-Laurentian Library, after finding the S. Marco MS., he proceeded to inquire for another MS. containing Σ , which is included in the list of Syriac New Testament MSS., in Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, edition of 1723, tom. i., p. 99, under the description "*Medicæa Palatina*, cod. 12," but which seems to have been unnoticed by later investigators, though recorded by S. E. Assemani as No. II. in his *Catalogus* of 1742. This also proved to be duly forthcoming, now described as "Flor.

Orient. 4"; it is a MS. of the New Testament including Σ, and it bears a subscription (given in Le Long) to the effect that it was transcribed A.D. 1611, at Rome, by Antonius a Maronite, from three MSS. in the Maronite College.¹ In Rome, a few days later, he verified in like manner the existence, in the Vatican Library, of the third MS., referred to, p. 238, of the same text, which Mai, in his Catalogue of the Assemani MSS. acquired by that Library,² reckons as No. 447 (formerly Assem. 190). It exhibits (as already stated) some *marginalia* of Harkleian character, and seems to have a good text. It was written also at Rome, in 1590, by Gabriel a Maronite,³ in the same college.

It is worth while here to review the list, as thus increased, of authorities available for a critical edition of the text of Σ.

A. In the last century, Le Long, when he issued his first edition in 1709⁴; J. D. Michaelis, writing in 1750–1788; Ridley, in 1761; Adler, in 1789, and other scholars devoted to the study of the Syriac Bible, could mention but two, namely—

1. Scaliger's MS., at Leiden (University Library, "Cod. Scalig. 18"); undated, but demonstrably of late sixteenth century (see above, p. 231), from which the *editio princeps* of the text was printed by De Dieu in 1627. (I call it Σ_L.)

2. The San Marco MS., at Florence, now "S. Marco 724," treated of above; dated 1582 (Σ_f).

B. In the earlier part of the present century the list seemed to be reduced to one, for Bernstein, writing in 1854 (*De Hharklensi Translatione*, p. 8), reports that, when he visited the Library of the Convent of S. Marco, Σ_f was

¹ This College was founded in 1584 by Pope Gregory XIII.; it still is a seminary for the Maronite clergy.

² In *Vet. Scriptt. Nova Collectio*, tom. v., pt. 2, p. 78.

³ Possibly the Gabriel who was the

second Head of the above College, and was the author of an abridgment of Amira's Syriac Grammar.

⁴ Tom. i., p. 191, Boerner's reprint, 1709; cp. tom. i. p. 101, Paris ed., 1723.

not to be found. But in 1886 its loss was balanced by the recovery of another MS., long missing, namely—

3. Archbishop Ussher's MS., in Dublin (Trinity College Library, "B. 5. 16"); written in the Lebanon country, A.D. 1625 (Σd ; see for it *Trans. R.I. A.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 269 ff.).

These three, all of Maronite origin, none of high antiquity, are complete. A fourth, earlier by five centuries, but unfortunately incomplete, was brought to England from a different quarter in 1847. It is—

4. The Nitrian MS. ("Add. 17127") of the Library of the British Museum—one of the vast collection acquired by that Library by purchase from the Jacobite Convent of the Theotokos, in the Nitrian Desert of Egypt. It is the only known MS. of Σ written in the *estrangelo* character, and on vellum. Its date is A.D. 1088, and the scribe was one Samuel, a Syrian Jacobite; but he wrote it in the above-mentioned Convent. (Σn).

C. To these Dr. Barnes has now enabled us to add two more; Maronite, complete, and comparatively recent, like Σl , Σf , and Σd :—

5. The second Florentine MS.; of 1611, formerly "*Med. Pal. 12*" (No. II. in S. E. Assemani's *Catalogus*), now "*Flor. Orient. 4*,"¹ (which I propose to call $\Sigma f'$).

6. J. S. Assemani's MS., now in the Vatican Library, "*Vat. 447*," formerly "*Assem. 190*"; written in 1590 (Σr).

I do not enter on this list the Oxford copy, "*Thurston 13*" of the Bodleian Library (dated 1628), which exhibits but an incomplete text, and that so carelessly transcribed as to be worthless; nor the Paris copy, forming part of the Syriac New Testament (classed as "*Suppl. 79*," tom. 5, now "*Zot. 5*") in the Bibliothèque Nationale, written 1695; nor a second Vatican copy ("*Vat. 451*") ascribed to a still later date. These two last are so recent as to be open to the suspicion that they may have been (in part at least)

¹ This MS. was copied "*ex tribus* Gospels; one of the Acts and Epp.; *codicibus*;" i.e. (presumably) one of the and a third of the Apocalypse.

transcribed from the edition of Σ printed by De Dieu in 1627, or that contained in the Paris Polyglot of 1633. But of these two editions, the latter gives a text so clearly distinct from the former that it is to be esteemed an independent authority. I therefore append to my list—

7. The missing MS. of Gabriel Sionita, the Maronite editor of the Paris Polyglot; date unknown (Σ ρ).

Portions of the text may also be recovered from the inedited *Short Commentary* of Barsalibi (d. 1171) on the Apocalypse, Acts, and Epistles.¹ This Commentary, in treating of the Apocalypse, follows the version Σ, as in the four non-Peshitto Epistles it follows the Harkleian version—an indication (by the way) that this man, the most learned divine and expositor of the mediæval Jacobite Church, not only knew Σ, but probably regarded it as Harkleian.

I now turn back to the San Marco MS., and proceed to sum up its history so far as I have been able to trace it.

Full information, as we have seen, is given, concerning its date, the writer, and his place of writing, in the Syriac notes entered in its last leaf. Of the two Latin notes on the *verso* of it, the second is a mere librarian's memorandum of the contents of the Syriac notes, and adds nothing to our knowledge: the former, though studiously obliterated and only in part rewritten, is clearly the donor's record of his gift of the MS. to his Convent. On re-examining it, I have succeeded in recovering the whole of it as follows (I print the rewritten words in roman character; the rest, as now deciphered, in *italic*):—

"Ego Fr[ater] Joannes Baptista Leopardus *Hesronita Maronita de Monte Libano Ord[inis] Pred[icatorum]* Bibliothecae (*sic*) n[ost]ri conventus S. Marci de Florentia donauit hunc Apocalipsis (*sic*) *Libru[m]* Anno D[omi]nicæ Repar[atio]nis 160[2]² *Professionis v[er]o meæ anno nono.*"

¹ Brit. Mus., "Rich 7185."

² The last figure may be doubted; the former three are clear.

Now this Joannes Leopardus is a personage who can be identified with certainty. At the end of Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca* of 1596, there are two certificates of approval, the writer of the second of which describes himself (almost word for word as in the entry in our MS.) as "*Ego Fr. Joannes Baptista Leopardus Maronita e Libano, Ordin. Prædicatorum.*" He is, moreover, mentioned by two learned Maronite writers of the middle of the seventeenth century. Abraham of Ecchel, writing in 1661, styles him "*Archiepiscopus Hesronita, vir doctissimus,*" and refers to his works, *De Origine nominis Papæ*, and *De Contradictionibus Alcorani*. A contemporary of this Abraham, Faustus Nairon, writing in 1679, speaks of him as "*Hesronitam ex ordine Prædicatorum, Archiepiscopum et Patriarchæ suffraganeum.*" These references I owe to Echard (*Scriptores Ordinis Dominicani*, tom. ii., p. 754). They are also given by Le Quien (*Oriens Christiana*, tom. iii., p. 95).¹ Le Quien rightly supposes him to have been Archbishop at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, but questions whether he is called *Hesronita* because Hesron was his see, or because it was his birthplace. That he was Archbishop of Hesron, Abraham distinctly states; that he belonged to that city originally, we infer from this his autograph entry, written before he became Archbishop.² The entry also confirms the "*ex ordine Prædicatorum*" of Nairon; and its closing words imply that he had joined that Order more than eight years before the time of writing (probably therefore in 1594-5), thus agreeing well with the date of his approval of Amira's Grammar, 1596. We may conclude then that this Leopardus, after some years spent before and after the year 1600 as a Dominican in the Convent of S. Marco,

¹ I have verified both; the former in *Eutychius Vindicatus* (Index, No. 43); the latter in *Dissert. De Nomine Maro-*

nitaram, p. 122.

² See above, p. 231, and note ².

returned as Archbishop to his native Hesron. In his possession our MS. had certainly been within a few years (just twenty, if I have rightly read the date of his gift as 1602) after it was written. He may have been the person for whom Jacob—also of Hesron,¹ perhaps his protégé or pupil—copied it; he may possibly therefore have been the owner of the “little book” whence the copy was made.

The Archbishop Joannes Leopardus is then our first witness to the history of the MS. *Σf*,—its first owner so far as we know; and to him is due its admission into the S. Marco Library.

Our next witness is Montfaucon, who learned that it was there when he visited the convent nearly a century later. For Le Long (*ut supr.*), writing in 1709, refers to a Catalogue communicated to him by Montfaucon, and quotes from it an account of our MS., identical, word for word, with the second Latin note (see above, p. 229) on the last page of the MS.—even reproducing its mistake in stating the date A. Gr. 1807, instead of 1887.² Montfaucon records in his *Diarium Italicum* (p. 381) that when he was at Florence in 1701, he visited this Convent repeatedly, and catalogued its books. But in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, though he gives a catalogue of the MSS. of the S. Marco Library, no Syriac MS. appears in it, the catalogue being mainly, if not exclusively, of Latin MSS.

In 1784 a third witness appears. Adler (*Verss. Syr., ut supr.*) quotes a letter which he received in that year from Bandini, then Librarian of the Mediceo-Laurentian

¹ In Hesron, as we learn from Nairon (*ap. Le Quien, ut supr.*), and in two or three dependent villages, the Syriac continued to be vernacularly spoken in his day (middle of seventeenth century), long after the Arabic had driven it out from all the surrounding districts. Jacob may thus have been familiar with the language as spoken. But

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even thus he may have been but imperfectly able to write it correctly.

² Le Long notes the discrepancy of dates, which is due partly to this blunder, and partly to the confusion pointed out above (p. 232 *ff.*) between the statements of the Syriac notes ii. and iii., pp. 228–30.

Library, containing an extract (Apoc. i. 1, 2, preceded by the usual superscription) from the S. Marco MS. (designated "724," as now).

Bernstein's failure to obtain any account of it (some year before 1854) has been already mentioned. No other inquirer appears to have seen it until, in answer to Dr. Barnes's application, in March, 1897, at the Mediceo-Laurentian Library, it was promptly and willingly produced by its present custodian, and placed in his hands for examination.

I have not been able to ascertain at what date it was placed in its present abode. It is possible that, at the time, some forty or fifty years ago, when Bernstein asked to see the MS. at the Convent and was told that it was lost, perhaps "*a Francogallis ablatum Lutetiamque asportatum*," it was really in its place in the Convent Library (of which only a part had then been removed to the Mediceo-Laurentian). The suggested abduction to Paris may have been merely an excuse invented by the "*pater perfacilis idemque humanissimus*," who was then Librarian of S. Marco. But it is also possible that it may have been among the books so removed in 1808, when Tuscany had become the French province of "Etruria." The MS. has never (so far as appears) been really missing at all: though unnoticed by its Dominican owners, it was no doubt in safety all along; and in safety—still bearing the number 724 by which it was known to Bandini more than a century ago—it has been transferred (whether in 1808 or in the final removal of the rest of the S. Marco collection of books and MSS. in 1884) to the great Library where (happily) it is now in competent hands, no longer in danger of being overlooked or forgotten.

One word more, in conclusion. The available authorities for establishing the text of the version Σ are now, as has been shown, not inconsiderable in number; but they

are all, with the one exception of the Nitrian MS., as late as the sixteenth century or later; and all, with the same exception, of Maronite origin. I would suggest to all travellers or residents in the East who take any interest in Biblical studies, how desirable it is that they should be on the look-out for older MSS. of it. The exemplar from which Ussher's MS. was transcribed in 1625 may probably be still in the Convent of Kanûbîn on the Lebanon, the abode of the Maronite Patriarch: the "little book" which our Jacob of Hesron copied in 1582 may have been carried to the East by Leopardus when he returned to Hesron as Archbishop, and may be found in some Maronite Convent in that neighbourhood. Again, the copy used by Barsalûbî may survive among the Jacobites of Malatia, his native city, or of Diarbekr, where he died Metropolitan: the Jacobite Patriarch may possess a copy in his Convent of Deir Zaferan, near Marde. Or (more easily within reach) the archetype of "Vat. 447," or of "Flor. Orient. 4," may be forthcoming in the Maronite College in Rome. One copy of really early date, if complete (the only known early copy, $\Sigma\eta$, unfortunately gives barely two-thirds of the text), would be of more textual value than the sum of the five extant copies ($\Sigma dff'lr$) which are all of them mere transcripts made shortly before or after the year 1600 for the use of European scholars, from exemplars of which none is at present forthcoming. One or more of them may yet be recovered, and reward some diligent and tactful seeker.

JOHN GWYNN.

EMENDATIONS.

ACHARNIANS, 1088-1093.

ἀλλ' ἐγκόνει· δειπνεῖν κατακωλύεις πάλαι.
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἐστὶν παρεσκευασμένα,
 κλίνει, τράπεζαι, προσκεφάλαια, στρώματα,
 στέφανοι, μύρον, τραγήμαθ', αἱ πόρναι πάρα,
 ἄμνυλοι, πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἰτρία,
 ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου, καλαί.

The end of line 1091 is generally considered corrupt, see Blaydes' Crit. note. Perhaps the proverbial ὀρνίθων γάλα is a possible emendation.

The difficulty of line 1093 is notorious, and none of the suggestions in Blaydes's note seems to me probable. I suggest—

ὀρχηστρίδες δ' αἱ “Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδιε,” καλαί,

viz., “dancing girls who sing (or rather ‘accompany’) the catch ‘dearest Harmodius’ :” cf. Vesp. 666—

εἰς τούτους τοὺς “οὐχὶ προδωσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυρτόν,
 ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αἰεί.”

EQUITES, 815-818.

ΑΛΛ. ὦ πόλις Ἀργους, κλύεθ' οἷα λέγει ; σὺ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 ἀντιφερίζεις,

ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστήν, εὐρών ἐπιχειλῇ,
 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν,
 ἀφελών τ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰχθῦς καινοὺς παρέθηκε ;

“ ‘Thou city of Argos, dost hear what he says?’
 You equal Themistocles?—him, fool,
 Who found the city but half-filled with praise
 And glory, and rendered it brimful;
 And kneaded it up the Piræus beside
 For breakfast, and even was able,
 Without taking from previous stores, to provide
 Fresh incomes—of fish for its table.”

(Walsh.)

Such is the received interpretation of this passage, but to translate ἐπιχειλῇ, “half-filled [with praise and glory]” glosses over the difficulty that μεστήν and ἐπιχειλῇ require to be qualified by a dependent genitive. Furthermore, the illustrations quoted in Blaydes’s note prove that ἐπιχειλῆς does not mean “half-full,” but “full to the brim,” being, in fact, an intensification of μεστήν. Paley (on Agam. 790) held that χεῖλος is not the brim, but an internal rim of metal below the edge; but there is nothing to support this view but the doubtful evidence of the present passage. I suggest—

ὅς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστήν πυρῶν—ἐπιχειλῇ,
 “Who made our city full of wheat—even to the brim,”
 viz., by building the Athenian fleet, which founded the Athenian Empire and secured the safety of the corn-ships importing corn to Athens from the Hellespont. Ἀριστώσῃ and προσέμαξεν in line 817 are a strong confirmation of this alteration, which presupposes the loss of Π after the very similar N of μεστήν.

HERONDAS, IV., 45-47.

ιοῦσα, φημί, τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον,
 λαίμαστρον· οὐτ’ ὀργή σε κρηγύην οὔτε
 βέβηλος αἰνεῖ· πανταχῇ λί[θος] κέῖσται.

Such is Crusius’s text, but the absence of an adversative particle after πανταχῇ is intolerable; and, furthermore, I

seem to read in the facsimile, not ΔΙ, as Crusius maintains, but ΔΙΚ. Hence, I suggest πανταχῇ δ'εἰκάς κεῖσθαι, a proverbial phrase which is exactly illustrated by Herond. vi. 17—

φθείρισθαι, νώβυστρα, ὦ[τα] μοῦνον καὶ γλάσσαι,
τὰ δ'ἄλλ' ἑορτή.

and by ἑορτὴ πόδας ἔχουσα, (Zen. Ath. I. 33). So in Lucian, *Pseud.* 16, a lazy ne'er-do-well is called Ἐβδόμη, "a Sunday." For εἰκάς in the sense of "a holiday," cp. Herondas iii. 53, where the miching schoolboy

τὰς ἐβδόμας τ' ἄμεινον εἰκάδας τ' οἶδε
τῶν ἀστροδιφέων.

See Crusius, *Untersuch. zu d. Mim.* p. 117.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

REVIEWS.

The Republic of Plato. Edited with Critical Notes and an Introduction on the Text. By JAMES ADAM, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1897.)

THE fact of its dedication to Dr. Jackson augurs happily for Mr. Adam's edition of the Republic—a work which amply fulfils the expectations of readers of the *Classical Review* who have for some years anticipated it with pleasure. We cannot pretend to do it complete justice in a short article like the present, but doubtless every English scholar who loves and studies Plato will before long possess a copy, and will estimate its character for himself.

Mr. Adam demurs to Cobet's *dictum* that for the text of the Republic the value of Codex Parisinus A is "so great as to render all other extant mss. comparatively worthless." Nor does he agree with those who hold that A, if not alone, at least together with the Venetian Codex II, is a sufficient *apparatus criticus* for this dialogue. "It must first be proved that all the other mss. are directly descended from A or II, or from both of these mss." The conditions of such a proof are stated by Mr. Adam clearly and forcibly, so as to exhibit its extreme difficulty. Moreover, the inferior mss. "contain many indubitably right readings not found in A or II." "The result of ignoring all mss. except A or II would be to restore by conjecture in many cases the readings of the very ms. which we have condemned unheard." "There is strong reason for believing that the right readings in some of these mss. do not rest upon conjecture, but represent a tradition which is independent of both A and II." Mr. Adam argues vigorously against the supposition that all other mss. of the Republic are derived from A and II. Hence he has not neglected any mss. of which collations are available. His fundamental principle has been this:—"By reason of its age and excellence Parisinus A is the primary authority for the text of the Republic, but the other mss. are valuable for correcting its errors and supplying its omissions."

He recites the titles of many mss. which he has used for his edition, beginning with A, ninth century (collated by himself in 1891), Venetus II and Venetus B, of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries respectively (for which he has used Castellani's collation, lent him by Professor Campbell). He has done all that seems possible in order to render the documentary evidence for his text complete. The specific canons by which he has endeavoured to apply the above principle are:—I. *Follow A wherever possible.* II. *When A must be deserted, state the readings of A, and the source of the readings adopted.* These canons are, however, "subject to certain reservations." Codex A has suffered more than one revision. We frequently meet with corrections, both in the body of the text and in the margin. It is usual to ascribe these indiscriminately to "A," but no one supposes that they all come from the same hand. "Hence we have," he says, "to distinguish between them." He proceeds to describe the characteristics of A, and gives an enumeration of the principal instances in which he has preferred the original readings of that ms. to those found written over an erasure. He omits (he tells us) to notice cases in which he deserts the punctuation, accentuation, or spelling of A. As regards the last, A preserves several traces of the true Attic orthography, such as ἀποκτείνωμι, ὄος, and a few others. These he has "sedulously preserved." In general he has "silently abandoned the spelling of A wherever the evidence of inscriptions has appeared conclusive against it, and sometimes also, though rarely, on other grounds, as for example in φιλόνικος versus φιλόνεικος. "In doubtful cases, where no sure guidance comes from inscriptions, such as the addition or omission of ν ἐφελκυστικόν, εὐπαθία versus εὐπαθία" (*sic*) Introd. xvi, "and the like, he follows the practice of the first hand in A." He has also "deferred to inscriptions so far as to exclude those grammatical forms which have conclusively been shown to be un-Attic, such as ἔστωσαν, ψευδέσθωσαν, εἰρήσθαι (for ἡρῆσθαι)." He has used Meisterhans as the standard work on inscriptions. We need not enlarge this account (chiefly extracted from Mr. Adam's own words) of the plan of the work. Enough that, in general, the execution will be found to correspond faithfully with this plan. No proposition of fact or principle seems laid down in the Introduction whose truth is not afterwards exhibited or illustrated in the text and notes. The description given by the editor of the place he assigns in the formation of his text to critical emendations, whether his own or those of other scholars, is instructive and interesting, and (what is more to our purpose) represents accurately what, as readers will find, Mr. Adam has actually done. He is equally opposed to needless interference with the mss. and to the spirit of prejudice or jealousy which accepts no emendation, however much can be said in its favour. He has admitted no conjectures except those which in his judgment are ("not of

course mathematically, but dialectically") certain, or at least probable. "The text of the Republic" (he well says)—"long may it be so!—is jealously guarded by a vast array of scholars, but there is no edition which dispenses with corrections altogether; and we must beware of stereotyping an emendation because it is old, or fathered by an illustrious name. It is the duty, as well as the right, of every editor to go back to the mss., and, whenever they err, to test every emendation, including his own, solely by the standard of its intrinsic probability. This has been my aim throughout." (Introduction xxi.)

It will be seen that the editor's conception of his functions and duties possesses the first requisite of trustworthiness: it is eminently clear and intelligible. The few tersely written pages, in which this conception and its application are explained, form in themselves a valuable contribution to the literature of Platonic studies. Of the Introduction as a whole we feel inclined to say—οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Μῶμος . . . τό γε τοιοῦτον μέμψαιτο.

In reading the book through we have come upon some points which seem to call for remark. In drawing attention to these the editor, after what we have said above, will readily believe that we are actuated by no mere disposition for fault-finding. The fact is that we regard the text now before us as one which we hope to use for years in our daily work; and we invite its editor's attention to our comments in order that, under his continued care, it may in future editions approach perfection as nearly as possible. We begin with the admission that our least debatable service consists in the exhibition of a few printer's errors; for what remains we can only say—*sic visum est nobis legentibus*.

Corrige: In 484 B, αὐ to ἄν.

„ „ 558 A, τῷ „ τῷ.

„ „ 566 E, δημοσίᾳ to δημοσίᾳ.

„ „ 505 B (note) 'κεκτήμεθά A' to κεκτήμεθα A. (We *infer*, merely, that the iota subscribed in the former is wrong, since, as printed, the readings of Π and A, and of the text are identical; this would leave the note pointless.)

„ „ 579 D, comma omitted after τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

„ „ 581 D, (note) Graser to Gräser.

„ „ 601 D, comma omitted after χρησομένην.

„ „ 616 B, προσφερῇ to προσφερῇ.

In Intro. xvi, Mr. Adam says: "I have not chronicled the instances in which I desert the punctuation, accentuation, and spelling of A. As regards the last, A¹ preserves several traces of the true Attic orthography, such as ἀποκτείννμι (for example, in 360 C), ὕς, and a few others. These I have sedulously preserved." Accordingly, so far as we have observed, ὕς or its cases appear

regularly in the text: but ἀποκτείνωμι we have found only once—ἀποκτεινύμαι, 360 C. Elsewhere (e.g. 566 A, B; 686 B) the vulgar ἀποκτινύνῃ, ἀποκτινύναι, ἀποκτινύασι appear. If ὅς should be preserved regularly and consistently, why should not ἀποκτείνωμι be so? For we do not understand Mr. Adam to have aimed at presenting the true Attic forms *merely* when A, or because A, has them; but at giving the text as nearly as possible to what Plato wrote. It seems to us that if ἀποκτεινύμαι is the true Attic form it should everywhere displace ἀποκτινύναι. The alternation between forms which are doubtful may be pardoned: if A gives both, and we cannot be absolutely certain which of the two Plato used, the safest plan, perhaps, is to print the one where the best MS. gives the one, and the other where it gives the other. So we are not surprised when we find in Mr. Adam's text ὠφελεία, 459 D, ὠφελείας, 519 E; but elsewhere, as far as we have noticed, ὠφελία and its cases, e.g. 527 E, 559 B.

Of emendations: we are very glad to see the following introduced into the text:—

- 333 E, ἐμποιήσας (Schneider) for ἐμποιῆσαι (A).
 360 E, δακτύλιον (Jackson) for δακτύλιον ὄν (Codd.).
 377 B, τύπον (H. Richards) for τύπος (Codd.).
 396 E, ἀπλῆς (Adam) for ἀλλῆς (Codd.).
 429 C, αὐτῆς (Adam) for αὐτῇν (Codd.).
 468 B, ἐλοῦσι (J. Van Leeuwen) for θέλουσι (A).
 563 D, τισὶ (Adam) for τις (Codd.).
 564 E, βλέττειν (Adam) for βλέττει (A).
 580 D, ἰδεῖ (Adam) for εἰ δεῖ (A), δεῖ δεῖ (vulgo).
 585 C, <ἀν>ομοῖον . . . <ῆ> ἐπιστήμης (Adam).
 608 A, ἀσόμεθα (Madvig) for αἰσθόμεθα (Codd.).

The text has been materially improved by these and many other changes of equal value. We dwell with special satisfaction upon the editor's βλέττειν for βλέττει, 564 E, which solves every difficulty, and is almost as admirable as the two corrections which seem to be his own favourites—ἀπλῆς, 396 E, and ἰδεῖ, 580 D.

Less certain are the following:—

359 D, τῷ <Γύγῃ τῷ> Γύγον, where the insertion is violent, and scarcely supported by τὸν Γύγον δακτύλιον, 612 B. Plato *may* have supposed, and left his readers to understand, that the ancestor of the monarch Gyges was also named Gyges. In this case, the Gyges named in 612 B is the πρόγονος of 359 D. But we know nothing from any other source of this Gyges, the πρόγονος; and the good fortune here ascribed to him is, by Herodotus (with some variation), ascribed to the Lydian monarch: hence the real difficulty is not removed by Mr. Adam's emendation.

407 B, γυμναστικῇ, ῆς (Adam) for γυμναστικῆς (Codd.). Here νοσοτροφία is declared to render obedience to the Φωκνλίδον παρα-

κέλευμα impossible. The MSS. give—*σχεδόν γέ τι πάντων μάλιστα ἢ γε περαιτέρω γυμναστικῆς ἢ περιττὴ αὕτη ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ σώματος*, and the sense is that this inordinate care of the bodily health, which exceeds what is required by legitimate *γυμναστική*, is a fatal impediment to the precept of Phocylides. Mr. Adam's reading represents *νοσοτροφία* (the said "inordinate care") as being a part of, or belonging to, a sort of *γυμναστική*, described, however, as extravagant—*ἢ περαιτέρω*. We do not remember hearing of this elsewhere; at all events, the necessity of altering the MSS. here does not appear so clearly as it should be on the principles laid down by the editor himself, *Introd.* xix.

411 E, *ὥσπερ θηρίον πρὸς <θηρίον> πάντα διαπράττεται*. This is certainly neat, clever, and scholarly; yet we question it because (a) *πάντα* is not absolutely required to be the object of *διαπράττεται*, a verb which virtually contains its own object, as in *Protag.*, 319 C, *περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἰονται ἐν τέχνῃ εἶναι, οὕτω διαπράττονται* (quoted by Campbell); and (b) the change injures the intended effect by limiting the simile—*ὁ τοιοῦτος . . . πειθοῖ μὲν διὰ λόγων οὐδὲν ἐτι χρῆται, βία δὲ καὶ ἀγριότητι ὥσπερ θηρίον πρὸς πάντα διαπράττεται*. The man described as *μισόλογος καὶ ἄμουνος*, "behaves, in all relations with his fellowmen, like a beast": this gives better sense than—"transacts all his affairs rudely and roughly, like a *beast dealing with a beast*." "He behaves like a beast generally; not like a beast in relation to a beast." The merits of Mr. Adam's insertion are not sufficient to defend it against these objections. Campbell's explanation and defence of the text seem to be perfect.

426 A, *ιατρευόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν περαίνουσι, πλὴν γε ποικιλώτερα καὶ μείζω ποιοῦσι τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἂν τις φάρμακον συμβουλευσῃ, ὑπὸ τούτου ἐσσεθαι ὑγιείς*. "They effect nothing by their attempted cures, but merely vary and intensify their ailments, although, whenever a person recommends them a new drug, they go on expecting to be healed by it." Mr. Adam changes the *ποιοῦσι* of the Codices to *ποιούντες*. Here, as elsewhere in all cases, he leaves it to his readers to divine the reason of the change. In most instances the reason is easily seen; not so in this, however. We suppose he thought the *ποιούντες* co-ordinates better with *ἐλπίζοντες* than *ποιοῦσι* does. But there is no ground for the effort to co-ordinate them logically. *πλὴν γε*, followed by the finite verb *ποιοῦσι*, is much more idiomatic than if followed by *ποιούντες*. With Mr. Adam's text we should construe, "they accomplish nothing *except* varying, &c., and hoping"; but the hoping is not part of what they accomplish; it is part of their folly generally, which makes them go on vainly expecting cures in spite of repeated experiences. The logic takes a turn after the *ποιοῦσι*, and the *καὶ* before *ἐλπίζοντες* is nearly = *καὶ ταῦτα*, a use of *καὶ* not unfrequent with the participle. The clause beginning *καὶ αἰεὶ ἐλπίζοντες* stands

in logical relation to οὐδὲν περαίνουνσιν, "they effect nothing, though they hope on and hope ever to work a cure."

434 C, οἰκαιοπραγία . . . τοῦναντίον ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τὴν πόλιν δίκαιαν παρέχοι. Mr. Adam inserts *ὃν* after τοῦναντίον. As the text stood, τοῦναντίον goes with, or anticipates, the predicate. It would effect the opposite to what was effected by the former ἐκείνου (the πολυπραγμοσύνη as just described), "it would, on the contrary, be justice, and would render the state just." With *ὃν*, τοῦναντίον becomes part of the logical subject of the sentence, which then informs us that οἰκαιοπραγία, "a thing which is the opposite to the former would, &c." The sense is equally good in either case, equally conformable to the argument of the passage. Under these circumstances we do not think that this change is justified on Mr. Adam's principles. That *ὃν* might easily have been lost after τοῦναντίον is true; but this by itself is not enough to justify us in assuming that it *was* lost, since its introduction is no positive improvement.

443 D, τρία ὄντα ὥσπερ ὄρους τρεῖς ἁρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης. Mr. Adam, after Hartman, reads νεάτην, &c., accusatives instead of genitives, against the evidence of all mss. Thus ὄρους would be in grammatical apposition to νεάτην, &c., and the things denoted would be identified, as far as words could make them so. But the ὄρος is *not* the same as the νεάτη (χορδή), &c. The former is the mathematical term for the musical interval, to which the string corresponds in sound. The two, while connected, are not identical. This connexion without identity is indicated by the genitives: it would be at least slurred and obscured by the accusatives. Here is a distinct reason why Plato would have used the genitives. His view (the Pythagorean view) of music forbade the notion that it was in the χορδαί themselves and their relations, not in their ὄροι, that the ἁρμονία had its being. In the comparison between Justice ("the diapason closing full in man") and the ἁρμονία or musical scale, it was most important, from Plato's standpoint, to respect and keep in sight the distinction between the ideal principles of music, and the materials instrumental or subservient to their expression: between the "soul of music," and the "slave of music." The intervals (ὄροι) of the ἁρμονία illustrate the virtues which, combined, enter into and form δικαιοσύνη. The ὄροι are "bodied forth" in the strings, but differ from these as ψυχή from σῶμα. Should anyone object to the overcrowding of genitives in the passage, besides the defence entered in what we have just urged, we may further refer to 525 C, ἔνεκα πολέμου τε καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ῥηστῶν ἡ μεταστροφῆς, in Mr. Adam's text.

607 B, ὁ τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὄχλος κρατῶν. For the last word, which all mss. give, Mr. Adam reads κράτων, which we take to mean καρήνων—the heteroclite gen. pl. of κάρα. If we are right in so taking it—and be it remembered Mr. Adam gives no explanatory

notes, but leaves his readings to speak for themselves—we should like to ask him how he would translate the quotation thus printed. Like *caput*, *κᾶρα* and *κεφαλῇ* cannot be, or rather never are, in classical Greek, used for the seat of intelligence—for the “head” of modern parlance—the reason being that popular opinion among the Greeks and Romans connected intelligence with the heart or midriff, not, as among us, with the head. Plato, indeed, like Alcmaeon of Crotona, adopted the truer opinion; but Aristotle adhered to the popular view, which maintained itself among a large portion of his followers as late as the sixteenth century, A.D. In such phrases as *φίλον κᾶρα* the whole personality, not the head merely, is referred to, so that they would furnish a very precarious defence of the proposed reading, in which *σοφῶν κράτων* would naturally mean “wise heads,” “wiseacres.” But in fact we do not know how Mr. Adam would translate, and therefore we hesitate to press our criticisms of his reading, and look forward to the fulfilment of the promise given by him on p. xx of his Introduction, where he writes:—“Some” [of his readings and suggestions] “require for their defence a close examination of the argument in the passage where they occur. This duty I shall endeavour to discharge on another occasion. A few will I trust carry conviction as they stand.” Many of the proposals do, indeed, “carry conviction as they stand,” but some, as that which we have just discussed, require explanation as well as defence.

We cannot go into a detailed account of the unadopted suggestions, recorded in the notes, made by Mr. Adam himself and by other scholars, for the improvement of the text. Some of them are excellent, e.g. Bywater's *ἐχομένας* for *ἐπομένας*, 504 B; Madvig's *καθίστασαν* for *καθιστᾶσιν*, 410 C, where the change is slight, and the imperfect suits the *ἵνα* . . . *θεραπεύονται* just following; Mr. Adam's own suggestion to omit *πεπονθέναι*, 516 D; Madvig's *ὅσοι* for *ὅσων*, 534 B, Campbell's note on which exhibits its grammatical confusion.

In 335 A, *τὸν δοκοῦντά τε ἢ δ' ὅς καὶ τὸν ὄντα χρηστὸν φίλον τὸν δὲ δοκοῦντα μὲν ὄντα δὲ μή, κ.τ.λ.* We cannot but wish that there were MS. authority for expelling the spaced *τὸν* from the text. So, too, we wish the *τὰ* absent in 589 D, *ἴσως τὰ ὑπὸ θείῳ*. In both places the article spoils, instead of serving, the logic of the sentence.

In 402 A, *μὴ λανθάνοι ἡμᾶς ὀλίγα ὄντα ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἔστιν περιφερόμενα* we should like to see read *<ἐν> οἷς <ἐν> ἐστιν* as fourteen lines further on, *πανταχοῦ περιφερόμενα γνωρίζωμεν καὶ ἐνόντα ἐν οἷς ἐνεστιν*. The thought in both cases is the same; why should the modes of expression differ so much grammatically? Especially when it is considered how much clearer and more explicit the second construction—that with *ἐν*—is. The preposition, both simply and in *ἐνεστιν*, is regularly found elsewhere in the context, 402 A—D. The loss of *ἐν* after *ἅπασιν* would be easy, and its

restoration would render the meaning of the sentence more precise.

In 521 C, *περιάγωγη ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινὴν τοῦ ὄντος* <ἀγ>ουσα ἐπάνοδον, ἣν δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθὴ φήσομεν εἶναι, Mr. Adam's reading of ἀγουσα for the οὔσα of Hermann (οὔσαν A) is a great improvement, but still greater, we think, would be <ἀνάγ>ουσα, as more suitable to ἐπάνοδον. Canter proposed ἀνάγουσα for ἀναιρούσα of mss. 533 C; and in 533 D, in a context precisely similar to this, we find τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα . . . ἔλκει καὶ ἀνάγει ἄνω. Indeed ἀνάγει, and other parts of the compound verb, are regularly used in the passage with reference to the *περιάγωγη*: see 529 A, &c. We would fain see a comma printed after τοῦ ὄντος, and before <ἀγ>ουσα (or <ἀνάγ>ουσα): it would help the reader by showing instantly that ἀληθινὴν agrees with ἡμέραν, and is not to be taken with ἐπάνοδον.

In 577 D, Mr. Adam might well have printed ὅμοιος ἀνὴρ τῇ πολει, as Mr. Campbell had suggested, not ἀνὴρ. In 331 E, he has printed with an aspirate the ἀνὴρ of A, σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἀνὴρ, in deference to Bekker. But the phrase θεῖος ἀνὴρ is Laconian as we learn from Aristotle 1145^a 29, where, however, it is given σείος ἀνὴρ, without the aspiration, in all mss. Other dialects do not employ the article to mark the subject with accuracy characteristic of Attic. Besides, it is not at all certain that, in 331 E, the ἀνὴρ is subject: the translation may well be—"he (Simonides) is a wise and inspired man"—not "the man is wise and inspired." But in 577 D, there can be no doubt that ἀνὴρ is subject, and would have the article in accordance with Attic usage.

We conclude by expressing a wish that Mr. Adam had done something for the φαίνηται of 591 D, and for the ἄν . . . αἰσχύνοιο . . . χαρῆς of 606 C. In the former passage φανέται would make all right. φαίνηται may have resulted from the mistake of continuing the force of εἰάν μὴ into the succeeding clause; but at all events it destroys the grammar of a sentence which is otherwise clear, and far from complex. In the latter, the ἄν of Schneider suits αἰσχύνοιο, but leaves χαρῆς unexplained, for the same ἄν could not possibly function in the two different ways required here for the optative and subjunctive respectively. The remark of Mr. Campbell, "It is possible that we have here a carelessly written sentence, &c.," is weak, and introduces a principle which, if generally adopted, would bring grammar and criticism alike to ruin.

Musa Claudia. Translations into Latin Elegiac Verse. By S. G. OWEN and J. S. PHILLIMORE, Students of Christ Church. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1898.)

WE heartily admire and commend this little collection of verses from beginning to end—from the preface, which so well pleads the cause of an obsolescent but most delightful art, to the last of the renderings (some forty in number) which show that England can still prove her primacy in the most scholarly of accomplishments. Mr. Owen and Mr. Phillimore could not, by writing a dozen editions of classical writers, and a dozen more books on classics or about classics, have asserted their claim to the possession of rare and exquisite scholarship so convincingly as they have done by this little book. They justly observe in the preface: "It is to be regretted that the practice of verse composition has declined in England, and it is significant that a marked decline in English scholarship is coincident with this. Theorists and specialists we have many: scholars are a dwindling quantity."

But there is one remark in the sensible and graceful preface against which we must protest: "No illusion," they write, "is cherished that a Roman might have mistaken these lines for Roman." We hold, on the contrary, that ninety per cent. of the lines might have been written by Ovid or Propertius, and might have passed in ancient Rome as the work of those writers. If we thought otherwise, we should not hesitate to pronounce the collection to be a failure. Who shall say that these lines might not have been written by Propertius:—

Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor Grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

I nunc, tolle animos et honesto illude labori:
Sors parca agricolis gaudia parva dedit.
Quamquam gente tumes, posito nunc accipe fastu
Quae sint acta inopum pauca brevique labor.

An prosunt fasces, longaeque per atria ceræ?
Divitiae pereunt, forma caduca perit.
Omnibus expectatur ineluctabilis hora:
Gloria, te propter mortis adimus iter.

The last line (though not perfect, since *but* is omitted) we prefer not only to Wakefield's,

Ad tumuli fauces ducit honoris iter,

which Munro wickedly rendered, "the path to a public office leads to the gorge of a mound," but even to that great scholar's own version, which contains a metaphor not in the original,

Metaque mors quoquo gloria flectit iter.

It is curious how Munro, whose earlier compositions both in Greek and Latin were unsurpassed and unsurpassable, fell, in his later years, into a love of strange expressions which greatly marred his work. For instance, in his version of the Elegy, the moping owl does not complain to the moon of interlopers, but "sues them for rudeness" (*rusticitatis agit*). Again, "the little tyrant of his fields" is *pusillum ruris erum*, which surely would mean "a meagre landowner." For the same reason we dislike *dominis pusillis* in Mr. Owen's version. Cicero speaks of *Roma pusilla* in a playful letter where he says he had so many visitors that Rome, on a small scale, was in his house; but we do not think that the contemporaries of Ovid would have understood *dominis pusillis* to mean "the little tyrants of his fields." Therefore we think this verse is a failure. But because ninety per cent. of the verses are far from any such fault, we pronounce the whole book to be a great success. We could point to other verses which we think an ancient Roman would have misunderstood. This is because, in some cases, the pieces selected have been so hard to turn that the rendering amounted to a *tour de force*. "We are dropping down the ladder rung by rung," is not translated by the words—

Quales scalarum nox tenebraeque premunt.

Yet it is very pleasant to meet the work of Rudyard Kipling in a collection like this, which plainly aims at presenting fresh and unattempted pieces, though a few standing dishes, notably the Elegy, are served up. We have poems by R. L. Stevenson, James Thomson, the poet of the *City of Dreadful Night*, Eric Mackay, William Barnes, and Hon. Emily Lawless. It so happens that hitherto we have commented only on the renderings of Mr. Owen. Those of Mr. Phillimore are equally attractive, especially his *Lost Leader, Dirge of the Munster Forest, In Memoriam LXIV*. In the second line of the last, would not *iuventutis* be more normal than *iuventutis* for the period of youth?

Ovid, it is true, calls elegiac verse *carmina clauda*. In this sense we have no fault to find with the title. In no other sense can the Muse of Mr. Owen and Mr. Phillimore be called lame.

The Codex Turnebi of Plautus. By W. M. LINDSAY, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. (At the Clarendon Press, 1898.)

PLAUTUS, and early Latin generally, owe much to Mr. Lindsay. Not to speak of his standard work "The Latin Language," his attractive little volume "Introduction to Latin Textual Criticism" in its learning, clearness, and simplicity, shows him to be a perfect master of the comic poet. His genius as an emender is proved by his brilliant restoration of Stich. 700: *mica* (for *amica*) *uter utri accumbamus*. The work before us, though not at all easy reading (indeed it is very hard), is in the highest degree scientific. No pains are spared to track out the remains of the codex of Turnebus (T), and no partiality for the discovery leads the author to attach to it a greater weight than it deserves (cp. p. 8 and Cl. Rev. xi. 250).

But T ranks high—though belonging to the Palatine, not to the Ambrosian family. Previously a fair amount of information about it had been obtained from that "rudis indigestaque moles," the *Adversaria* of Turnebus; and there was good reason to believe that the codices to which Lambinus and Scaliger often appealed bore a considerable resemblance to T; but it has been reserved for Mr. Lindsay to discover where Turnebus got his manuscript from, to secure a large number of additional readings which existed in it, to prove minutely the position and undoubted importance of the manuscript, and to show the relation in which the codices of Lambinus and Scaliger stood to it.

Mr. Lindsay found these readings in manuscript notes written in a 1540 Gryphius edition of Plautus (now in the Bodleian) by Fr. Duaren, a Parisian lawyer, who lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The readings are explicitly stated (p. 488) to be taken from a manuscript belonging to a monastery at Sens, which, at the time of copying, was in the possession of Turnebus. These MS. notes, however, are not taken from T itself, but doubtless from a copy of notes written by Turnebus in an edition of Plautus. They extend over the last half of the *Pseudolus*, the whole of the *Poenulus* and *Persa*, the first half of the *Rudens*, and some parts of the *Bacchides*. Of all these portions of the Oxford Gryphius Mr. Lindsay gives complete fac-similes. The variants coming from T are sometimes marked with the symbol *dr* (apparently "Duareni"); but as frequently they have no such mark. They are given intermixed with readings of an "Italian" MS. which run all through the Oxford volume, and are not merely confined to the portions mentioned above. These "Italian" variants can be fairly easily detected by comparing them with one of the best known MSS. of this class, the Leipzig F, a full collection of which is given in the large Teubner edition of Plautus. Mr. Lindsay has, with much

acuteness and patience, proved that these "Italian" variants came from a copy of the Burney MS. 228 in the British Museum.

Eliminate these, and there remain in the selected portions what may be regarded generally as readings of T, though sometimes they must be considered as emendations of Turnebus, and now and then of Duaren. They show us that T bore a very considerable resemblance to B, e.g. in Poen. 834 it has *ficiles* which appears in B alone; in Pseud. 1051, *Ite hac (ac) triumphi* (which is found only in A B); but it is superior to B as it has Poen. 977, in full, *facies quidem edepol Punicast: guggast homo*: whereas the last three words are not in B, but in A only. Other proofs are adduced leading to the conclusion at which Mr. Lindsay arrives, that "T was a MS. of the Palatine recension, independent of the immediate archetype of B C D, and deriving its text from an earlier transcription of the proto-archetype," and so it can supply a check on B C D in the same way as B does on C D (cp. Lindsay, "Intro. to Textual Crit.," p. 8). Further Mr. Lindsay considers that Lambinus had some marginal notes like those of the Oxford Gryphius, but not those actual notes, more probably another transcript of the marginal notes of Turnebus; whereas he considers "the vetus codex of Scaliger, in so far as it can be regarded as a single source of variants, to be nothing but the marginalia of the Oxford Gryphius." As far as we can judge, these contentions are amply borne out by the evidence adduced. A weaker brother could have wished that, in somewhat more places, a transliteration of the obscure handwriting of Duaren had been given; but otherwise the book has proved most interesting reading.¹

As a specimen of the fruit which has been gathered by Mr. Lindsay's labours, we subjoin the following selection of discoveries in the Pseudolus and Poenulus (the words first given are the reading of T):—

PSEUDOLUS:

808 *drachmissant* would appear to be the reading of the book Duaren copied: possibly it was in T. It may be a corruption for *drachmis stant*, "cost a drachma each," and perhaps the cook, whose wit is rudimentary, may have played on *stant* and *surgam*.

830. *condivero*, as in A: *condidero* B C D.

831. *patinas indidi*, as in A: *patina scindidi* B C D.

¹ As a parallel to the variants in Merc. 59, referred to pp. 14-16 (notes), *commilcutum*, *commulcium*, *convicium*, cp. Cic. Att. i. 14. 5, where M by Bruni's hand has *convicium* in both places, whereas M, by the original hand, has *commulticium* in the first

place, and *commultium* in the second; and the Tornesianus (teste Lambini) has *commulcium* in the first place. Might that, as O. E. Schmidt suggests, be a comic word for 'a thrashing,' 'a drubbing'? In Merc. 59 it would mean 'a scourge.'

859. *progredimior* (em. Camerarius). This form is questioned; but it seems attested by the Latin grammarians, and has the balance of ms. support in Apul. Met. i. 22 (*opperimior*), cp. Neue-Wagener iii. 210, who, however, reject the form, as does Madvig, Opusc. Acad.³ 595.
891. *quin tu is* (conj. Pareus); QVITTVIS A, quin uis B C D.
951. *os lenonis aedium* (conj. Brix): ostenonis aedium B C D.
1012. *simitu* (conj. Camerarius): simit B; simul C D.
1041. *te nunc* (conj. Cam.): le nunc B: lenonem C D. Cp. Lindsay, "Introd. to Textual Crit.," p. 2.
1087. *expeto* (conj. Beroaldus): expecto B C D.
1157. *maturare*: maturitate B C D.
1241. *invitus*: iam inultus B C D: iam intus Koch.
1242. *Ulixem*: vi ixem B: vixissem (-t) C D.

POENULUS:

14. *clamabis, tacitum* (already read by Turnebus): clamabista titum B: clamabis statim C D F.
266. *reginas allicarias*: reliquias allicarias B.
337. *Sunt illi alii quos spectare volo*: aliae quas B C D. (Adelphasium might well say she wanted to see other *men* in order to excite the jealousy of Agorastocles).
504. *nequius*: inequius B C D; but a strong word is required.
514. *Nisi cum pedicis condidicistis istoc grassari gradu*: so Lambinus ("nostri codd. antiqui"), doubtless from T ultimately.
613. *similis malist* (conj. Ritschl): similis malus est, other mss., except B which has similis est, leaving out mali. This passage shows that T can be used to control B.
824. *hunc*: nunc B C D.
977. *Punicast; guggast homo*, omitted by B C D, but known from Turnebus Adv., and found in A.
1077. *quom te* (conj. Lübbert): quo atte B: quo ate C D: quod te F: quia te Camerarius.
1204. *nimisquae addunt operam*. (All mss. except F give minusque, and B C D omit addunt).
1237. *Ite si itis* (conj. Camerarius and Bentley): ite sittis B C D.
1344. *hasce aio liberas* (conj. Camerarius): hasce moliberas B.
1355. *had verbum quidem*. (Hence Turnebus read: haud verbum quidem): adversum quidem B C D.

M. Tulli Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. (At the Clarendon Press, 1895.)

MR. CLARK'S edition of the *Pro Milone* is by far the most exhaustive yet published in our language. The introduction consists of five parts (1)—authorities for the events of 52 B.C.; (2) historical introduction; (3) the sources of the text; (4) the style and composition of the speech; (5) the orthography of this edition. Next we have the text with ninety pages of critical and exegetical notes, followed by the commentary of Asconius on the speech, *Scholia Bobiensia*. There are four appendices—(1) the date of the trial of Milo; (2) the trial of the two Tribunes; (3) additional readings from P; (4) mediæval argument to the speech. Three indices conclude the volume—(1) general; (2) of rhetorical terms; (3) of proper names. The historical introduction is excellent; in it we have succinctly presented all that concerns the career of the "Hector" and "Achilles" of the streets, and the tangled skein of events at Rome, at a period which Mommsen calls a political witches' revel, and the history of which he declares to be as difficult to write as to set to music a charivari. The article on the style and composition of the speech, in which it is fully analysed, in accordance with the norms of rhetoric laid down by Cicero himself, and by others, is also most interesting reading. In Part VII. of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Mr. Clark had demonstrated the Harleian ms., No. 2682, in the British Museum, to be of paramount importance for the criticism of Cicero, and to this belief the present edition owes its existence.

The value of this ms. in dealing with the *Epistolæ ad Familiares* has been fully discussed by Dr. Purser in the introduction to vol. II. of the "Correspondence of Cicero." In his section on the sources of the text of the *Pro Milone*, the editor shows convincingly that H is of far higher authority than E (Erfurtensis), and T (Tegernseensis) which have formed the basis of all previous editions. In the same section he discounts the value of P (the Turin Palimpsest), and relegates the overrated Salisburgensis to the class of "deteriores." Holding to the Harleian as his sheet anchor, Mr. Clark has provided us with a text which differs in many places from those to which we have been accustomed. He is of opinion that the text of the *Pro Milone* is honeycombed with glosses and adscripts, some of them obvious, others more insidious and more difficult of excision. There is always a danger, when an

editor begins to "bleed" the text of his author, which appears to him overturgid, of his becoming a second Peerlkamp, and running riot with reeking lancet, crying, "Who else must be let blood? who else is rank?": but Mr. Clark commits no such excesses, and most of his omissions, which generally have the authority of H, will command the unqualified approval of the reader. For example, in § 30, where all editors, following P, read "Sin hoc et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris et mos gentibus et feris etiam beluis natura ipsa praescripsit ut omnem semper vim . . . propulsarent," Mr. Clark shows clearly that *etiam beluis* is an interpolation, not only from its spoiling the "concinnitas" of the sentence, but also from its being contrary to the sense. Cases in which the mss. reading is successfully vindicated are *praedicatam* in § 52 "proclaimed as by a crier" as against "praedictam"; *perdito* in § 63; *frenorum* in § 51. The value of H is seen by the fact that it alone gives *harenam* for "arma" in § 74, a certain reading, though how the corruption in all our mss. arose is not quite clear. Again, in § 75, we get from it, "privaret . . . omni aditu et *lumine*," for "limine," in the sense of "lights," where, however, the use of the singular with this meaning in Cicero seems uncertain, and in § 68 *ante testaretur*, the other mss. having the lipographical error, "antestaretur." Of Mr. Clark's own conjectures one, viz., *ipse* for "ille" in § 56, receives additional confirmation from having been arrived at independently by Dr. Reid, our *μέτρον καὶ κανὼν* in matters Ciceronian. Another excellent correction is *cum fascibus ad Castoris* in § 91—a reading originally published by Lambinus, which shows that, in classical criticism, as Aristotle observed of philosophy, the truth is often found and lost, and found again. In § 102 where other mss. have "quae est grata gentibus," and H "grā (i.e. gratia) ingentibus." Mr. Clark has now abandoned his very clever emendation, "gratia ingenti omnibus in gentibus," and accepts the simple supplement of Garatoni "*grata <omnibus> gentibus*."

In some passages, however, Mr. Clark seems less successful in establishing the text, e.g., in § 11, he omits *modo* after *non*, as it is not found in H, and also appears to the editor a perverse interpolation. But *modo* affords a sense quite in accordance with the terms of the Lex Cornelia when translated "not merely"; and its omission in H after *non* is quite easily accounted for palæographically. Again, in § 42, where the other mss. have "rumorem, fabulam fictam falsam levem perhorrescimus," and H "rumorem fictam levem." Mr. Clark reads "*rumorem levem fictam fabulam perhorrescimus*." Dr. Reid edits "rumorem veremur," "veremur" having dropped out owing to its similarity to "rumorem." Perhaps the original reading was "*rumorem merum fabulam fictam perhorrescimus*." Another unsatisfactory reading adopted from H by Mr. Clark is in § 79. "Fingite animis (liberae enim sunt nostrae cogitationes et quae volunt sic intuentur, ut ea cernamus quae non

videmus)," where the ordinary reading, "*ut ea cernimus, quae videmus*," seems unexceptionable if we understand it to mean that the constructive power of the imagination in forming its free images is the same as that employed in translating visual sensations into perceptions. We cannot agree, moreover, with Mr. Clark's plausible reading in § 90, "*ille denique vivus mali nihil fecisset, cui mortuo unus ex suis satellitibus curiam incenderit?*" H has "*qui mortuo unus*," and "*Sex Clodio duce*" is found in all mss. after "*satellitibus*"; but these three words are omitted as a gloss by the editor. The ordinary reading is "*qui mortuus, uno . . . duce*." One feels instinctively that "*qui mortuus*" is the right reading, but then "*duce*" must be wrong. Professor Housman has suggested "*face*" for "*duce*," and certainly we want some word implying "*ministro*," not "*duce*," perhaps *Sex. Clodio usus*.

In the explanatory notes many traditional views are rejected, and questions of style and usage of terms in Cicero are largely discussed, constant citations being made from Krebs-Allgayer "*Antibarbarus*." We may quote as evidence of Mr. Clark's acuteness, his fresh punctuation demanded by the rhythm in § 29:—"*Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum, adversi raedarium occidunt*"—"they run up and kill the driver"; and also, in § 43, he accepts Wex's punctuation, required by the usage of "*quod caput est*." "*Quid? quod caput est, audaciae, iudices, quis ignorat maximam illecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem?*"—taking *audaciae* = *audacibus*. He seems, however, mistaken in his rendering of § 14, "*reliqua auctoritas senatus emptā intercessionē sublata est*"—"the remnant of authority left to the senate was destroyed." His objection to the obvious interpretation, "the rest of the senate's resolution was rendered invalid," viz. that "*sublata*" cannot be thus used, since a resolution remained on the minutes, even when it was prevented by the veto from becoming a *sen.-cons.*, seems untenable. *Tollere* can surely have a much wider meaning than merely "to expunge from the minutes." Further notes might have been added in some places, e. g. in § 20, on the "*municipia*" and "*coloniae*," and vexed questions like that of the method of voting of the jurors discussed.

The work is published in the splendid style to which the Clarendon Press has accustomed us, and by its freshness and ingenuity cannot fail to add new zest to our study of one of the most intricate, and at the same time most interesting of the speeches of Cicero.

The Assumption of Moses. By R. H. CHARLES, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. (A. C. Black, 1897.)

MR. CHARLES has laid all students of Christian origins under great obligations by his diligent and learned investigations in the large field of literature which forms, as it were, the background of the New Testament. His edition of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* was his first considerable work, and since then he has given us the Slavonic *Enoch* (in conjunction with Mr. Morfill), the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the *Assumption of Moses*, as well as some important articles on the *pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament. The *Assumption of Moses*, which reached us last year, is of peculiar interest; and, although it has been edited three or four times before, there was ample room for a new edition by a scholar whose speciality was this curious Apocalyptic literature.

In 1861 Ceriani published, from a sixth-century Latin palimpsest at Milan, a considerable portion of the *Assumption of Moses*. The ms. is, unhappily, fragmentary, and the end of it is lost; but enough remains to give, with the early patristic quotations, a good idea of the work. The Latin version, preserved in this ms., has evidently been made from the Greek; it is a further question whether Greek was the original language of the book, as Hilgenfeld contended in his edition. Volkmar thought that the Greek was based on an Aramaic original; but Mr. Charles argues that the work in its earliest form was written in Hebrew. On such a matter no one has a right to an opinion who has not devoted long and careful study to its examination; but whether Mr. Charles is right in this theory or not, there can be little doubt that, as he points out, the *Assumption of Moses* was written by a Pharisaic Quietist of the first century of our era, and represents a truly spiritual form of Judaism.

The book must have had a considerable influence. St. Jude in his Epistle (ver. 9) seems to quote it (although the passage in the Epistle has no counterpart in the extant Latin manuscript). Possibly the writer of 2 Peter was also acquainted with it, though this is less certain. There can be little doubt that the passage (*Assumptio*, iii. 4): "Nonne hoc est quod testabatur nobis tum Moyses in profetiis, qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis quadraginta," has direct literary connexion with the words in St. Stephen's speech in Acts vii. 36: ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἑτη τεσσαράκοντα. Mr. Charles also finds parallels to St. Matthew xxiv. 29, St. Luke xxi. 25, in the corrupt passage (x. 5): "sol non dabit lumen et in tenebris convertent se cornua lunæ et confringentur et

tota convertit se in sanguine et orbis stellarum conturvavitur.” It will be seen from these illustrations how important for the study of the Apostolic writings is the exact editing of these later Jewish or Judæo-Christian books. They have been much neglected in the past; but, thanks to Mr. Charles and Dr. James, they are not likely to be overlooked by English scholars just now.

Mr. Charles finds the *crux* of the *Assumptio* in the enigmatical name *Taxo*, which is found at ix. 1: “homo de tribu Levi, cuius nomen erit Taxo, qui habens septem filios dicet ad eos, &c.” We note this passage here, in order to have the satisfaction of reprinting Mr. Burkitt’s convincing explanation of the mystery. Mr. Charles had shown that none of the previous solutions which had been offered were satisfactory, and that there is evidently some reminiscence of the story of the Seven Martyrs of 2 Macc. vii. 2, underlying what is told of Taxo, whose resolve is very like that of Eleazar in 2 Macc. vi. 19. Now Mr. Burkitt has pointed out that *Taxo* is nothing but a cipher for *Eleazar*. The Latin ms., which is all we have to go on, is very erratic in spelling, and it is not a violent change to read TAXOC for TAXO. But TAXOC represents ταξωκ or τακωκ in Greek, which in Semitic letters is תכסוך. “This, as it stands, is no word; but by using one of the simplest forms of cipher, viz., taking in each case the next letter of the alphabet we get אלעזר, i.e. *Eleazar*, the very name which from the context is most appropriate.”¹

It remains to add that, after a careful examination of the peculiarities of the Milan ms., Mr. Charles has constructed a critical and emended text, and has given very full exegetical notes on the whole piece. His edition will be indispensable to future students of the *Assumption of Moses*.

¹ *The Guardian*, June 1, 1898, page 849.

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HERMATHENA.



THE SECOND TEMPLE OF THE PYTHIAN APOLLO.

§ I.—THE THREE TEMPLES.

THE French excavations at Delphi have brought to light, within the last few years, certain new facts which enable us to see in a new aspect the scanty literary evidence that bears on the history of the temple, or rather the successive temples, of Apollo. It is established, by inscriptions found in the precincts, that the sixth-century temple, known to Pindar and Euripides, was laid in ruins at an early date in the fourth century, that it was rebuilt, and that the rebuilding was in progress during the Phocian usurpation, and long afterwards.¹ In the spring of the year of Chæroneia, a Locrian poet, Philodamos, urges the Amphictyons to hurry on the work, that the temple may receive the suppliants of the god at the approaching Pythian feast.² The earliest reference to the rebuilding

¹ The building account comes down to the archonship of Maemalus, date uncertain, but *circa* 328–6 B.C. The inscription is published by Bourguet in B. C. H. xx. 197 *sqq.* (1896), and may now be read in Collitz, S. G. D. I. ii., No. 2502, pp. 653 *sqq.* (1899).

² In the pæan to Dionysus-Apollo, VOL. X.

ed. Weil in B. C. H. xix., p. 406 (ll. 105 *sqq.*):—

ἐκτελέσαι δὲ πρ(ᾧ)ξιν Ἀμ-
φικτυόνας θε(ὸς) κελεύ-
ει τάχος ὥ(ς) ἐπιδόλος
μὴν ἰκέ(τας) κατάσχευ.

And cp. ll. 118 *sqq.*, p. 407.

of the temple is in a passage of Xenophon's *Hellenica*,¹ which shows that the catastrophe must have happened before B.C. 371. Two or three years later an Athenian stone of the archonship of Lysistratus tells us that Dionysius of Syracuse mentioned the subject of "the building of the temple" in a letter to the Athenians²; and "the temple" has, rightly no doubt, been explained as the Pythian temple. But we have another stone which teaches us how the destruction was wrought.³ Or rather, it allows us to divine; for chance has eliminated two crucial letters. A Delphic *Ehreninschrift* for the Thurians begins thus—

Θεός. Ἀγάθων Νεοτέλεος καὶ τοὶ ἀδελφεοὶ Θουρίοις
περὶ τῆς προμαντηίας ἐπανε νέωσαντο, ἐπ[εὶ] δ
ναὸς κατ[.]ύθη, καὶ ἔδοξε κ. τ. λ.

In the verb, which alone interests us, there is room for only two letters, so that *κατεκαύθη* is not a possible restoration. M. Homolle's first conjecture, *κατελύθη*, holds the field; for his second thought, *κατανύθη*, is a false form (it should be *κατανύσθη*), and it is doubtful whether *κατανύειν* would have been used at Delphi—it certainly would not have been used at Athens—in ordinary or official speech in the sense of "complete." *κατελύθη* accords with the archæological evidence, which suggests that an earthquake was the cause of the catastrophe.⁴ And we cannot refuse

¹ vi. 4, 2. Prothoos proposed, at Sparta, that the cities should be invited to contribute *eis τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*.

² C. I. A. ii. 51; Dittenberger, No. 72. Cp. Wilhelm, Gött. Gel. Anz. (1898), p. 221. The letters are [.]s of [.]σομ[.]]ω: read as τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ νεώ.

³ Published by Schmidt in Ath. Mitth. v. 202 (1880); by Homolle, with photograph, in B. C. H. xx. 678 sqq., and a valuable disquisition; by Pomtow,

Rh. Mus. li. 352–3; more recently by Baunack, in Collitz, S. G. D. I. ii. No. 2676. Baunack accepts *κατανύθη*. The inscription itself belongs to the later part of the fourth century. The stèle on which the privilege granted to the Thurians had been originally inscribed was lost in the destruction of the temple: Agathon and his brother propose that it shall be renewed.

⁴ Cp. Mr. Frazer, Pausanias, vol. v., 334.

to assent to the conclusion of M. Homolle, fitting in admirably with the date supplied by Xenophon, that the catastrophe happened in B.C. 373, which was distinguished as an earthquake year.¹

Of this episode in the history of Delphi the traveller Pausanias knew nothing ; and he was equally unaware of a subsequent catastrophe which overtook the temple in the days of Mithridates, at the hands of Illyrian invaders.² The Mædes and other barbarians burned the building, and it was not completely restored till the time of Nero or Domitian.³ But Pausanias thought that he was gazing at a building of the second half of the sixth century.⁴ His delusion shows that the Delphic guides who instructed him did not study the stone documents of their sanctuary, which have taught the French excavators a new tale.

There can be no question, therefore, that the pediment sculptures which Pausanias saw and enumerated⁵—Artemis, Leto, Apollo, the Muses, the setting of the Sun, and Dionysus with the Thyiads—did not belong to the sixth-century temple. The only question that arises is, whether they even belonged to the fourth-century building. That is, are we to believe that the conflagration in the first century was a complete or only a partial destruction ? On the whole, we may be disposed to believe that it was only a partial destruction. Pausanias attributes these sculptures to Praxias, pupil of Calamis, and Androsthenes. It is simplest to suppose that his statement is correct. Calamis flourished in the fifth century ; he was still at work in

¹ Strabo, viii. 7, 2, κατεκλύσθη δ' ἡ Ἑλικὴ θυσιὴν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν. Diodorus xv., c. 48 (B.C. 373), κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένοντο σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ κατακλυσμοὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεων ἔπιστοι. The calamities of Helice and Bura are specially mentioned.

² Appian, *III.* 5 ; Plutarch, *Vita*

Numæ, 9 ; Pomtow, *Rh. Mus.* li. 365 (1896). M. Pomtow fixes the date to B.C. 83.

³ Schol. Aeschin. c. Ctes. 116 ; Schol. Aristid. iii. p. 740, ed. Dind. B. C. H. xx. 703 *sqq.* (1896).

⁴ Paus. x. 5, 13.

⁵ x. 19, 3.

B.C. 427,¹ and therefore, even if he died in B.C. 426, his pupil could conceivably have been employed at Delphi in the fourth decade of the fourth century. The dates are reconcilable.² We may conclude, therefore, that the Illyrian fire of the first century had spared the gables, and that the edifice which Pausanias examined was the fourth-century temple restored, with a good deal of Roman work. But by mentioning the pupil of Calamis, Pausanias betrayed the fact that the sculptures he saw did not belong to the sixth-century temple; and modern critics (like Welcker³), knowing of no other building, were obliged to resort to the hypothesis that the gables had been left empty for two or three generations and were not filled till the latter part of the fifth century.

Leaving aside, as beyond our knowledge, the first three temples of which his Delphic guides told Pausanias⁴—the laurel temple, the wax temple, and the bronze temple—we come to the building which, so far as we are concerned, is the first temple of Delphi. This is the building which was burned down in the middle of the sixth century. It need not have been the first stone house of the Pythian Apollo. We may take it that it was built in the seventh century,⁵ coeval, perhaps, with the early temples at Selinus, or the shrine of Hera at Olympia; certainly not later than the house of Poseidon in Calauria, or the double house of Apollo—and was it Artemis⁶?—at Corinth. The rich

¹ Pausanias i. 3, 4.

² See Frazer, Pausanias, vol. 5, 337-8: cp. vol. i., p. xciv.

³ For Welcker's study of the temple, see below, p. 276, note 4.

⁴ Paus. x. 5, 9-13.

⁵ Strictly, we have a minor limit for the date of its building in the Sacred War. If it had been built at that time, it could hardly have escaped being

mentioned in connexion with the war. Cleisthenes would, doubtless, have had a hand in it. We may therefore conclude that it was in existence before the outbreak of the war.

⁶ The topographical clues won by the American discoveries at Corinth seem to determine the Old Temple (as it is generally called) as the temple with a bronze image of Apollo, men-

priesthood of Delphi are not likely to have been behind the rest of Greece in rearing, for their god, a stone habitation of the new style, which seems to have come in early in the seventh century. But it need not have been the first temple of stone at Delphi. There may have been something earlier, of a more primitive type; something which the Delphians of the seventh century might have regarded as dating from the very foundation of the Delphic worship of Apollo. And if so, it was of that older temple that the author of the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo thought, when he described¹ Trophonius and Agamedes constructing the "stone threshold," and building the temple *κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν*, when Apollo first occupied the spot. But the consideration of this tradition, along with Trophonius and Agamedes and Cercyon, lies outside the present essay.

We may then summarise the history of the Delphic temple thus, leaving aside the question whether there was an older building than that which existed in the days of Cleisthenes and Cræsus :—

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| FIRST TEMPLE, | . | (Built 7th century?). Destroyed by fire in B.C. 548. |
| SECOND TEMPLE, | . | Built between B.C. 548 and (?) B.C. 510.
Destroyed by earthquake B.C. 373. |
| THIRD TEMPLE, | . | (a) Built between B.C. 373 and end of century. Partly destroyed by fire B.C. 83.
(b) Restored in (1st century B.C. and ?) 1st century A.D. |

tioned by Pausanias in ii. 3, 6. But it was a double temple, as Dr. Dörpfeld's examination proved. It is natural to conjecture that the second deity was Artemis.

¹ Ll. 295 *sqq.* (= 115 *sqq.* of the *Pythian* part). It may be thought that the poet of this hymn, as he draws

elsewhere on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, took his *λάϊνος οὐδός* from *Il.* 9, 404. But *λάϊνος οὐδός* was probably the technical name used at Delphi. Of course it could not mean a temple, nor need it imply the existence of a temple. It was a stone terrace, or platform, in front of the adytum. But there is no

§ II.—THE BUILDING OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

The First Temple, as we may call it, was burnt down by accident a year or two before the fall of Sardis.¹ To rebuild it the Delphians sought contributions from the whole Hellenic world. They applied even to the Greeks of Egypt, and the king of Egypt himself gave a handsome gift.² A sum of three hundred talents, of which the Delphians themselves contributed a fourth part, was raised³; but three hundred talents was probably a low estimate for the work. The Alcmaeonidæ of Athens came forward, and relieved the Delphians of any misgivings they may have felt as to the sufficiency of their fund. For three hundred talents they undertook, Herodotus says, "to complete the building of the temple."⁴ The expression is remarkable. It might mean, as Mr. Macan explains it,⁵ that the Delphians had already begun to build; that they found themselves in an awkward predicament when it looked as if the money would run short; and that they then committed the completion of the temple to the Alcmaeonids. But *ἐξοικοδομεῖν* and *ἐξεργάζεσθαι* do not necessarily mean to complete what has already been partly done; they may also mean to do a work completely or perfectly,—to carry it out from beginning to end, without leaving anything undone. And it seems to me far more probable that this is the meaning here. In

reason why the god should not have had a stone house in the eighth or ninth century; there is no reason why the temple of Athena, at Ilios, imagined by the poet of *Iliad* vi., should not have been of stone. Temple-building was revolutionised in the seventh century by the Corinthian discovery of roof-tiles; but older stone temples there certainly were, though none have been

preserved. It has been recognised that the building on Mt. Ocha was not a temple (but probably a signal-house).

¹ In the first year of Ol. 58, according to Pausanias, x. 5. 13, that is, B.C. 548–7.

² Herodotus, ii. 180.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Herodotus, v. 62, *ἐξοικοδομήσαι*.

⁵ In his note *ad loc.*

fact, it is not unlikely that one of these words, ἐξεργάζεσθαι or ἐξοικοδομεῖν, was actually used in the contract which was drawn up between the Amphictyons and the Alcmaeonids. This preposition ἐξ- was convenient in such agreements,¹ for it left the contractor no loophole for leaving odds and ends unfinished.

It was bargained in the contract, that the temple should be built of poros stone. But the Alcmaeonids were better than their bargain. With a well-calculated munificence, which secured them the influence of the oracle, they made the front of the temple (τὰ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ) of Parian marble.² Whether they exceeded the estimate by this act of generosity we are not told explicitly, but the implication of Herodotus is that they did exceed it. The information of Herodotus was probably derived from an Alcmaeonid source; but it is borne out by Pindar, who, in the Seventh Pythian, celebrates the beauty of the house which the Alcmaeonidæ made for Apollo.³ Orators of the fourth century, Demosthenes⁴ and Isocrates,⁵ state that the Alcmaeonids borrowed money from Delphi, for the purpose of overthrowing the Pisistratids and re-establishing the democracy. This may be true; but there is no reason to believe the insinuations of Aristotle⁶ and Philochorus⁷ (probably derived from a common source), that the Alcmaeonids undertook the contract for the purpose of commanding money, and used for their political ends the funds which were committed to them. The money was, doubtless, paid to them by the Amphictyons according as the work progressed. Their object was to gain influence with

¹ For example, in the directions connected with the contract for the building of the Skeuothêkê of Philon, l. 95: ταῦτα πάντα ἐξεργάσονται οἱ μισθωσάμενοι κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς. Dittenberger, No. 352.

² Herod. v. 62.

³ For the date of this hymn (B.C. 486) see von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. p. 323 sqq.

⁴ *Meid.* § 144.

⁵ *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, § 232.

⁶ *ΑθΠ.* c. 19, 4.

⁷ *Ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. vii. 9.*

the Delphic god and prestige in the eyes of Greece. They may have borrowed money in the archonship of Harpactides for the immediate purpose of the revolution; but this transaction should be kept quite apart from their proceedings as contractors. It gave, indeed, a welcome handle to their enemies, who were sure to describe them as misappropriating the building fund. We shall do the Alcmaeonids no injustice if we conclude that they were losers in hard money by their Delphic contract.

The architect whom the Alcmaeonids employed was Spintharus of Corinth. Our authority is Pausanias.¹ It may, indeed, be argued that, as he mistook "the great temple" for the temple built by the Alcmaeonids, so he also mistook the architect of the later for the architect of the elder building. It may be held that Spintharus was the architect of the Third, and not of the Second, temple. But in *naopœic* inscriptions of the Third temple Xenodorus is mentioned as the architect.² This circumstance, indeed, as Mr. Frazer has pointed out, need not be inconsistent with the employment of Spintharus³; for the name of Xenodorus occurs first in spring B.C. 348, so that the building might have been begun by Spintharus, and Xenodorus might have been his successor. But there is no necessity to resort to this hypothesis. It is simpler to suppose that in the source from which Pausanias drew, whether oral or written, Spintharus was associated, and associated rightly, with the Alcmaeonid building. In other words, his mistake lay, if I may so express it, not in connecting Spintharus and the Third temple with the Alcmaeonids, but in connecting Spintharus and the Alcmaeonids with the Third temple.

¹ x. 5. 13.

l. 67 (B.C. 346), &c.

² Collitz, S. G. D. I. 2502 l. 41
(p. 655) τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι Ξενοδόρῳ
(B.C. 348); again l. 62 (B.C. 347),

³ See Frazer, Pausanias, vol. i.
p. xciv, vol. v., p. 337.

“The forepart” of the temple, which was built of Parian marble, can only mean the eastern front. But it is an ambiguous phrase. It may mean merely the columns of the outer colonnade, six in number,¹ or it may include the whole façade, or *πρόσωπον*—the architrave and pediment as well as the columns which supported them. Nor can we fairly press the description of Euripides, in the *Ion*, into the service of the latter supposition. To this description I must now turn.

The chorus of Athenian girls, handmaidens of Creusa, who have never been out of Athens before, express their naive surprise at finding in Delphi a temple which can vie in splendour with their own splendid sanctuaries at home:—

οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθείαις Ἀθά-
ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὐ-
λαὶ θεῶν μόνον οὐδ' ἄγχι-
άτιδες θεραπέϊαι·
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξία
τῷ Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-
πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς.²

The meaning of these lines is no more than this: So the temple of Loxias, too, like the Athenian temples, has colonnades and bright façades. *εὐκίονες αὐλαί* is used here, not in the sense of a *περίστυλος αὐλή*, but in the sense of a *περίστυλον*, or peripteral colonnade, while *διδύμων προσώπων* could hardly suggest any other meaning than the east and west façades of the building.³ The girls are standing before

¹ We can hardly doubt that the temple was a hexastyle, though of course the number of columns on the flanks cannot be determined. Middleton conjectured that the scheme was 6 by 15, but both his conclusions and his guesses apply to the Third temple, not to the Second (J. H. S. ix. 313).

Middleton understood the Parian front of the Alcmaeonids to refer to the columns only (*ib.* 288), but the sculptures of the pediment seem to have been marble. See below, p. 281.

² *Ion*, 184 sqq.

³ *καλλιβλέφαρον* is appropriate to *πρωσώπων*; it is suggested by the

the east façade—the true front, τὰ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ—and their expression, δίδυμα πρόσωπα, involves an inference that the western façade is like unto the eastern: an inference which was absolutely natural, but was not perfectly correct, if, as Herodotus implies, the front was of marble and the western side of poros stone. It was not incumbent on the poet, in any case, to take account of the difference; but, if he had been taken to task by an archæologist, he could have convincingly replied that the slightly inaccurate inference was dramatically true.

And if the maidens had passed round to view the western façade, perhaps they would have been no wiser. For there can be little doubt that all the poros columns were coated with a stucco which gave the effect of marble.¹ This was the usual way of treating poros, and it was all the more necessary in a building where six columns were of marble.

§ III.—THE SCULPTURES OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

The question of the sculptures of the Second temple is simplified by the discovery of the Third. The pediment sculptures which Pausanias mentions² are altogether different from the sculptures described in the *Ion* of Euripides. The solution, adopted by K. O. Müller³ and Welcker,⁴ was

metaphor in πρόσωπων; but it means ultimately no more than καλόν. It is a phrase of a common type, like πάνδημος πόλις (*Antigone* 7), &c. I cannot follow Mr. Verrall (note *ad loc.*) in his rendering ("Symmetric front, bright as twin eyes beneath the brows") or in his conjecture that a courtyard in front of the temple is meant "enclosed by two colonnades, resembling more or less those of St. Peter's at Rome." This idea could hardly be entertained seriously, unless we had an actual ex-

ample of such an arrangement in the sixth or fifth century B.C.

¹ The stucco, "unlike anything we now call stucco," was made of lime and powdered white marble. Cp. Middleton, *J. H. S.* ix. p. 310.

² Paus. x. 19, 3.

³ Dörer, i. 432.

⁴ Die Vorstellungen der Giebsfelder und Metopen an dem Tempel zu Delphi, in *Rh. Mus.* (N. F.) i. 21 sqq. (1842).

that the description of Euripides referred to the metopes.⁵ But now we can leave Pausanias out of the question. His statement has no bearing on the Second temple, and our sole piece of literary evidence is the passage in the *Ion*. We may deal with it first by itself, before we compare it with the archæological evidence which has recently come to light.

It is natural to suppose that the Athenian maidens describe only what they are supposed to see before them. They are pointing all the time at scenes which are represented, or conceived to be represented, on the stage-building. And there is no doubt whatever that the stage-building was meant to represent the eastern front, the main entrance of the temple. Therefore the description would refer only to the east façade.

Ion 190-217.

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| a. | ἰδοῦν, τάνδ' ἄθρησον· | 190 |
| | Λερναῖον ὕδραν ἐναίρει | |
| | χρυσέαις ἄρπαις ὃ Διὸς παῖς. | |
| | φίλα, πρόσιδ' ὄσσοις. | |
| β. | ὄρῳ· καὶ πέλας ἄλλος αὐ- | |
| | τοῦ πανὸν πυρίφλεκτον αἶ- | 195 |
| | ρει, τίς; ἄρ' ὃς ἐμαῖσι μυ- | |
| | θεύεται παρὰ πῆναις | |
| | ἄσπιστάς 'Ιόλαος, ὃς | |
| | κοινὸς αἰρόμενος πόνους | |
| | Δίῳ παιδὶ συναντλεῖ; | 200 |
| a. | καὶ μὰν τόνδ' ἄθρησον | |
| | πτεροῦντος ἔφεδρον ἵππου | |
| | τὰν πυρπνέουσιν ἐναίρει | |
| | τρισώματον ἄλκάν. | |
| β. | παντὰ τοι βλέφαρον διώκω. | 205 |
| | σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τύποισι ³ λαῖνοισι Γιγάντων. | |

¹ Tyrwhitt and Musgrave (who read ἐν πτυχαῖσι λαῖναισι in *Ion* 206) referred the description, not to the temple of Apollo, but to the treasury of the Athenians; and Hermann adopted this view. Raoul-Rochette thought that

paintings in the pronaos were described (Peintures inédites, p. 110: I owe the reference to Welcker).

³ τύποισι, Bury; τέλεισι, codd.; τύκαισι λαῖναισι, Hermann (approved by Welcker).

- α. ὦδε δερκόμεθ', ὦ φίλαι.
 β. λεύσσεις οὖν ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῃ γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἵτην ; 216
 α. λεύσσω Παλλάδ' ἐμὰν θεῖον.
 β. τί γαρ ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον
 ὄμβριμον ἐν Διὸς
 ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν ;
 α. ὄρῳ· τὸν δάϊον Μίμαντα πυρὶ καταιθαλοῖ. 215
 καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον ἀπολέμοισι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις
 ἐναίρει Γᾶς τέκνων ὁ Βακχεύς.

It is manifest that we have to do with metopes. The sculptures which fill a gable always form a single composition ; but here we have three different subjects—an adventure of Heracles, an adventure of Bellerophon, and a gigantomachy.

But the question arises, whether we have to deal with metopes only. And here Euripides seems to have taken some account of the reader, as well as of the onlooker. He marks, as clearly as he well could, *a point at which the girls transfer their notice from one part of the temple to another*. The words

παντᾷ τοι βλέφαρον διώκω,

and then the precise answer, ὦδε δερκόμεθ', and the following οὖν (l. 209), show that the maidens have now directed their eyes to a different portion of the building from that on which Heracles and Bellerophon were represented. But the Heracles scene and the Bellerophon scene must have occupied two adjoining (πέλας, l. 194) metopes, and, therefore, we conclude that *the chorus now cast their eyes from the metopes up to the pediment*. Short of saying, as he said in the Hypsipyle,¹

γραπτούς τ' ἐν ἀετοῖσι πρόσβλεψον τύπους,

Euripides has made the transition as clear as could be

¹ Frag. 764, ed. Nauck.

desired, by the artifice of a marked pause—*παντᾶ τοι βλέφαρον διώκω*.

But the poet has made the matter even clearer. While the deed of Heracles and the deed of Bellerophon are described each for itself, as independent scenes, the other three feats—of Athena, Zeus, and Bromius—are, preliminarily, grouped together as a single composition, the *κλόνος Γιγάντων*. *In fact, ll. 205–207 (παντᾶ—φίλαι) form a preface to the description of the details of the pediment.*

It appears, then, that Euripides conceived a Battle of the Gods and Giants as the subject of the eastern pediment of the Second temple. In this respect, therefore, the temple is to be compared with the Hecatompedon of Athena Polias, with the Megarian treasury at Olympia, with the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Acragas, in all of which the gigantomachy was a pedimental composition; and not with the Selinuntine temple F, or the Parthenon, where combats of gods and giants were represented on metopes. On the gable of the Delphic temple, as described by the poet, it is evident that Zeus was in the centre, consuming Mimas with fire; Pallas was on one side, destroying Enceladus; Bromius, on the other, unarmed, slaying with his ivy staff another of the children of Earth.

A word must still be said of the expression in l. 206. The reading *ἐν τύκαισι λαΐναισι*, due to Hermann, has been widely approved. It is a correction of *ἐν τείχεσι λαΐνοισι* which the MSS. give. *τείχεσι* cannot be right, for *τείχεσι* cannot stand for *τοίχοισι*, and the plural is out of place here. Moreover, $\text{—} \cup \cup$ is not in harmony with the general character of the rhythm: we desire $\cup \text{—} \cup$. The correction might be, and has been, supported by a similar corruption in the *Andromeda*,¹ where *τειχισμάτων* was corrected by

¹ Fr. 124, ed. Nauck (who silently adopts *τυκισμάτων*). The citation is found in the Scholia of Maximus on the Mystic Theology of Dionysius Areopagites, c. 2, in Oper. S. Dion., ed. 1615, i. p. 242, and in the Para-

Jacobs to *τυκισμάτων*. Yet, so far as facility of corruption goes, *τύκαισι* has no advantage over *τύποισι*, which I have suggested, as, while equally good in sense, saving us from having to assume the second change of *λαίναισι* to *λαίνουσι*. In the *Hypsipyle* (*loc. cit.*) *τύπους* is used of pedimental sculptures.

The description of Euripides reminds us of H. Schrader's admirable reconstruction¹ of the gigantomachy, which adorned one of the pediments of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens. Starting from Studniczka's brilliant restoration of Athena,² Schrader has shown that the composition was of eight figures and three groups. In the centre was Athena transfixing a giant (Enceladus?)—a striking group most ingeniously restored. On either side of her a god strove with a giant; a few fragments of the gods remain, but their antagonists are completely lost. In each corner lay a prostrate giant, and these two figures have been partially recovered. Thus, in the general idea of the composition, the gigantomachy at Athens resembled the gigantomachy at Delphi, as described by Euripides. The struggle was not represented, like the battles of the Greeks and Trojans in the gables of the Aeginetan temple, in two opposing bands, ranged on each side of the pediment; but a number of single groups of combatants were distinguished—three groups at Athens, and, so far as we know, three groups also at Delphi.

We have now to compare our conclusion from the passage in the *Ion* with the archæological evidence which has been furnished by the French excavations. A number of sculptures have been found on the north-east side of the temple, and there seems no doubt that they belonged to

phrase of the same work by George Pachymeres, *ibid.* ii. p. 164. But whether the poet wrote *τύποισι* or *τύκαισι*, the words *ἐν τ. λ.* emphasize

the transition from metopes to pediment.

¹ *Ath. Mitth.* xxii., 59 *sqq.* (1897).

² *Ibid.* xi., 185 *sqq.* (1886).

the decoration of the Second temple. Moreover, it seems highly probable that they formed part of the decoration of the pediments. They fall into two groups, for some are wrought in marble, and others in poros. And if we infer, as we must infer, that the marble figures belonged to one pediment, and the poros figures to another, we have a most satisfactory agreement with the statement of Herodotus, that one façade of the temple was executed in marble; and we learn that the historian's words, *τὰ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ*, did not refer merely to the columns and entablature, but to the pediment as well.

But if *τὰ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ* means—and it is hard to suppose that it does not mean—the eastern pediment, and if the maidens in the *Ion* are conceived as gazing at *τὰ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ*, a serious difficulty arises; for the marble figures, which belonged to that eastern pediment, certainly formed no part of the gigantomachy. They include three women, standing up, in repose, “in the attitude and dress of the female statues of the Acropolis,” and a man, also standing up and in repose.¹

On the other hand, the figures in poros stone suggested a gigantomachy to M. Homolle. These include a draped woman, “walking towards the left, or fighting”; a draped man, walking towards the left; a man on his knees and hands (almost in the attitude of the giant of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis), suggesting a figure in the corner of a pediment.²

In the main point, then, the archæological evidence seems to bear out the conclusion which we drew from the description of Euripides. Fragments of a pediment have been found, which may well have represented a giganto-

¹ See M. Homolle's report in the *Bull. de Corr. hell.* xx. pp. 650 *sqq.* There are also “trois avant-trains de chevaux,” and a “tête d'homme barbu.”

² Also a “torse d'un homme nu se présentant de dos,” and the “tête, poitrail et jambes antérieures d'un cheval.”

machy, and included a female champion, who may well have been Athena. But in a subordinate point the archæological and the literary evidence seem to conflict. For, while it is most natural to suppose that the chorus in the *Ion* were gazing at the eastern front, there can hardly be any question that the poros sculptures belonged to the western gable. Two solutions are possible. The simplest, perhaps, is that Euripides did not trouble himself about archæological accuracy. He knew that one of the pedimental compositions was a battle of gods and giants, in which Athena played a part; and it did not matter to him or the audience which pediment it was. The other alternative is, that the audience are expected to imagine that the maidens walk round to the west side of the building, and back again; and that the stage-building is supposed for a few minutes to represent the western façade. This would be possible, if there were no realistic stage scenery; but the first solution seems much simpler.

The assumption that the poros sculptures do belong to a gigantomachy is not quite certain. If it should be ruled, after further technical examination, that the assumption is untenable, it follows that this description of Euripides is imaginary. But I contend that in any case a pediment, whether real or imaginary, was described by Euripides.¹

¹ M. Homolle says (*op. cit.*, p. 652), of the sculptures of the gigantomachy in the *Ion*, "ce ne serait pourtant qu'une hypothèse des plus incertaines

de les loger dans le tympan." The main object of this paper is to show that this is not an uncertain hypothesis, but the most natural interpretation.

J. B. BURY.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO VARRO'S
R. R., II., III.

MOST of the following suggestions on Varro's *de Re Rustica* were written five years ago. During the Easter vacation of this year (1899) I re-read the two books with greater attention, and rejecting what my deliberate judgment did not approve, have reduced the rest to the compass of a short article. My notes are based on the edition (1884), and Latin Commentary (1894) of H. Keil, the learned and conscientious editor of the *Grammatici Latini*.

P = the readings of Poliziano's cod. Marcianus, noted by him in the margin of a copy of the ed. princeps now in the National Library of Paris.

A = cod. Paris. 6842 A.

B = cod. Laurentianus, 51. 4.

V = ed. princeps.

II.

I. 20. *Fere ad quattuor menses a mamma non diiunguntur agni, haedi tres, porci duo. e quis quoniam †pori sunt, ad sacrificium ut inmolentur, olim appellati sacres, quos appellat Plautus, cum ait ' quanti sunt porci sacres ? '*

Pori, for which Keil prints *puri*, a correction of Poliziano's, may rather be *porci puri*, as *sacres* is not found applied to other animals.

22. *Propter nimium laborem ut contrariam* (so A B, *contrarium* P) *nullam exercitationem*.

Keil prints, after Iucundus, *aut contra*. It would not be
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impossible to retain *contrariam*, 'excessive labour or its opposite, never being exercised at all.' I find it hard to believe that *contra* could be expanded into *contrariam*.

ib. *Signa autem sunt, ut eorum †qui si e labore febrem habent, adapertum umido spiritu crebro et corpore calido.*

After *adapertum* Keil, from the Aldine, adds *os*, which would come better *before* it. For *qui si* I suggest *si qui*, 'for instance in the case of any such as labour has made feverish.'

27. *Neque enim hirundines et ciconiae, quae in Italia pariunt, in omnibus terris pariunt. non scitis palmulas careotas Syriam parere in iurea, in Italia non posse?*

Keil conj. *non scitis palmulas careotas Syrias parere in Iudaea*, explaining *palmulas* of the tree and making *c. Syrias* object accusative. *Iudaea* is an old correction, going back to Poliziano. It would be equally close to the MS. tradition to write *non scitis palmulas careotam Syriam p. in Iudaea, in It. non posse? careotam* having been changed to a plural owing to the preceding *palmulas*. The opposition of *in Iudaea, in Italia* seems supported by the similar opposition in c. 2. 3: *Caudis obseruate ut sint in Italia prolixis, in Syria brevibus.*

11. 1. *Nunc rursus uos reddite nobis, o Epirotae, de unaquaque re ut uideamus quid pastores a Pergamiae Maledouae potis sint.*

In the Cambridge J. of Philology, xvii. 140, I have said these verses appeared to me to be a hexameter fragm., perhaps from Lucilius—

Nunc rursus uos reddite nobis,
O Epirotae, rem unam quamque (or, de uno quoque) ut uideamus,
Quid pastor de Pergamidis Maledouae potis sit,

in which, of course, the third verse is highly conjectural.

But that the triple hexametrical ending was not accidental, I feel even more assured now.

III. 1. *Cui Cossinius, Quoniam satis balasti, inquit, o Faustule noster, accipe a me cum Homérico Melanthio †cordo de capellis.*

I think this passage should be compared with 4. 1 *Cognosce meam gentem suillum nomen non habere, nec me esse ab Eumaeo ortum.* As there Tremellius Scrofa explains how his ancestor got the name of Scrofa from an actual incident of war in Macedonia, and did not trace his origin to Homer's *δῖος ἑφορβὸς*, Eumaeus; so, on the other hand, Cossinius, to express the fulness of his knowledge about goats, calls himself a scion of the same family as Homer's *αἰπύλος αἰγῶν*, Melanthius. Instead then of *cordo* I would write *coorto*. The word must be taken in close connexion with *cum H. Melanthio*; the *co-* in this instance having its full form 'with,' i.e., of an identical stock.

IV. 17. *Parere †nunc oportere porcos, quot mammas habeat; si minus pariat, fructuariam idoneam non esse.*

Perhaps *aiunt*; this would well suit the proverbial, almost homely, cast of the dictum. Varro has *aiunt* again 7. 7: *duodecimo enim mense, die decimo aiunt nasci*; a similar remark of a homely and commonplace kind.

v. 8. *A collo corpore †apolea* (so A, *apoleo* B P) *demissa* (so A B, *demisso* P).

Pontedera conj. *apalo* = molli. The adverb *ἀπαλῶς* would suit *demisso* better, 'the body gently falling from the neck.'

VI. 5. *Relinquitur de numero, quorum greges non sane fiunt †niestei qui onera portent.*

I am not satisfied that Keil is right in his correction *nisi ex eis*. It looks to me more like *nisei ei*, or *nisi ici*: Merula conj. *nisi ei*.

VII. 8. *Admittere oportet, cum tempus anni uenerit, bis die, mane et uespere, per origa †misit* (so P, *perorigami sit*, B; *peor origa missit* A), *appellatur quiqui admittit*.

Per origam, Pontedera: cf. II. 8. 4: *idemque ut ineat equas per origas curamus*. Whether the following letters, *isit* (or as A *issit*) represent *is ita* (Scaliger), *is sic*, or *sic* (Victorius), is uncertain; my feeling is rather for *is sic* or *is ita*; but why alter *quiqui* to *qui*? Varro seems to mean that the name *origa* was given indifferently to anybody who *admisit* (*ecum equae*).

ib. 9. *Cum, equus matrem salire cum adduci non posset, cum capite obuoluto auriga adduxisset et coegisset matrem inire, cum descendenti dempsisset ab oculis, †et ille impetum fecit*.

En is an easy correction, marking an action which was surprising and not to be expected.

VIII. 1. At the outset of this chapter Varro says he will not let Murrius and the others engaged in the discussion go away till they have discussed the third division of the subject, mules, dogs, shepherds. Then follow these words:—

Breuis oratio de istis, inquit Murrius. Nam muli † et item bigeneri atque insilicii, non suapte genere ab radicibus. Ex equa enim et asino fit mulus, contra ex equo et asina hinnus.

Keil writes: *Nam muli et item <hinni> bigeneri*, and if *et item* is retained, some word must have fallen out. But *itidem* is an easy conjecture; it would mean ‘proceeding to speak of mules in the same way as we have spoken of horses,’ nearly ‘to continue what we were saying.’ The two classes are, on this view, not mentioned till the words *ex equa*, &c.

VIII. 4. *Hos pascimus praecipue faeno atque hordeo, et id ante admissuram et largius facimus, ut cibo suffundamus uires ad feturam.*

Forcellini explains *suffundamus* as pres. subj. of *suffundere*. It must surely be pres. ind. of *suffundare*, just as

Lucretius speaks of underpropping the body with food, 4. 867 : *Propterea capitur cibus ut suffulciat artus*. Non. 48, *suffundatum dictum est subiectum ; dictum a fundamentis*. Varro Tafe Menippu : *ut antiqui nostri in domibus latericiis paululum modo lapidibus suffundatis, ut umorem effugerent, habitabant* (so Bücheler fr. 524).

If this is so, *ut* must, I think, be wrong, and *et* should be read for it. The converse seems to be true in 9. 1 : *Canes ita custos pecoris † et eius qui eo comite indiget ad se defendendum*, for the meaning is obviously 'the dog is guard of the sheep-flock in the sense of guarding a creature that needs the dog's companionship for self-defence.' *Et* therefore should here be *ut*.

IX. 2. *Utro mulos circumfluxisse.*

'Swarmed round' the intruding wolf. Luc. III. 421 : *Roboraque amplexos circumfluxisse dracones*.

X. 4. One of the conditions of legal ownership in sales of cattle is thus stated :—

Si in iure cessit, cui potius cedere, et id ubi oportuit † ubi.

The second *ubi* looks like a piece of legal formula, and is perhaps an error for *ibi*, as in Catull. LXIII. 4.

5. *Cibus eorum debet esse interdus separatim unius cuiusque † gisues gregis, uespertinus in cena, qui sunt sub uno magistro, communis.*

The strange *gisues* is a notable specimen of one form of MS. corruption, viz., the combination of the last letters of a word with the first letters of another, here of (*gre*)*gis* *ues*(*pertinus*). It would seem probable that the archetype of P A B (in all of which *gisues* is found as here printed) was copied from an original, in which the scribe either from accident or perhaps from the difficulty or indistinctness of the handwriting could not make out the first syllable of *gre*(*gis*), and joined it on to the *ues* of *uespertinus*; then, seeing his mistake, wrote the full word *gregis*, followed by

and separated from *ucspertinus*, without erasing what he had first written. Keil, very properly, prints it in brackets, and it may safely be omitted in considering the structure of the sentence. *Eorum* is *pastorum*, and *cibus* has a double genitive depending upon it, *eorum* and *unius cuiusque gregis*: 'Their food ought to be served in the day-time separately for each single flock, but at evening should be taken at the supper, and shared in common by all the shepherds who are under one master.' This construction of *unius gregis* is, no doubt, lax, and somewhat κατὰ σύνεσιν. Yet it is not alien to the loose style of Varro, and seems preferable to supplying *magistri* from *qui sunt sub uno magistro*, or supposing *magistri* to be concealed in the *gis* of *gisues*.

7. *Firmas, non turpes.*

'Strong without being ugly,' which constant exposure to the air and hard labour combined might be expected to make these women.

8. *De nutricatu hoc dico, easdem fere et nutrices et matres semel. Simul aspicit ad me.*

Another case of a dittographical error. It is clear, as in I. 2. 7, that *simul* goes with *aspicit*, 'in saying this he looks at me,' therefore is not likely at the end of the previous clause. Probably *esse* has fallen out after *matres* and before *simul*, which, at some stage of the transcription, had been written with an *e*, of which our extant MSS. preserve a trace in *semel*.

9. *Cui ego: Certe, inquam, nam in Illyrico hoc amplius, †praegnax saepe cum venit pariendo tempus, non longe ab opere discedere, ibique enixam puerum, referre, quem non peperisse, sed inuenisse putes.*

praegnatem Keil: I should prefer *praegnati*, a dat. depending on *cum venit tempus*. In several early hand-writings *i* is attached to the preceding letter in the form of

a loop bulging to the right, and sometimes descending below the rest of the letter; such a loop might easily look like part of an *x*. See the page of the Bodleian Vergil in Lombard character, figured in my twelve facsimiles from Latin MSS., Oxford, 1885, in which this form of *i* appears frequently.

After the words *inuenisse* (why not *repperisse*?) *putes*, Varro continues:

Nec non etiam hoc, quas uirgines ibi appellant, non numquam annorum xx, quibus mos eorum non denegauit, ante nuptias ut succumberent quibus uellent et incommitatis ut uagari liceret et filios habere.

Except that *nonne* is given by A B for *non* before *denegauit* (possibly for *non id denegauit*), an error already corrected in V (Ed. Pr. 1471), this is the tradition of the MSS. Keil's words, 'hoc quoque apud Illyrios institutum esse narrat Varro, ut uirgines, quibus mos eorum id non denegauit, ante nuptias succumberent quibus uellent iisque incommitatis uagari et filios habere liceret' does not really solve the difficulty of the construction. It is an anacoluthon of the true Thucydidean type: *nec non etiam hoc (tradunt), quas uirgines ibi appellant, quibus mos eorum non denegauit (=permisit) ut ante nuptias succumberent . . . et ut uagari liceret et filios habere (eas succumbere et uagari et liberos parere)*. That is to say, the double *ut* does not depend on any understood *institutum* or the like, but on *non (id) denegauit*, and the infinitives, which the clause *quas uirgines ibi appellant* requires to complete the construction, are to be supplied from the clause *succumberent . . . uagari liceret et f. parere*.

XI. 2. *Ad perpurgandum ea, quae auuridipas eo magis fuisse ex herba quae ipso sumptae perpurpare solent corpora nostra.*

Perhaps *ad p. ea quae a uiridi pasc(u)o* (so Jucundus) *magis fuit, sed ex herba quae ipsa sumpta p. solet c. n.* (or

sed ex herbis quae ipsae sumptae p. solent c. n.). The only point in this correction which is new is *fuit, sed* for *fuisse*. This is mine. 'For complete purging, that kind of pasturage which has been drawn mainly from green fodder, and what is more (*sed*) from herbage which itself if taken (*i.e.* not as forming the milk of the cattle) has a purgative effect upon our bodies.'

9. *Quam [lanam] demptam ac conglobatam alii uellera alii uellimna appellant: ex quorum uocabulo animaduerti licet prius lana* (corrector codicis A *lanae*) *uulsuram quam tonsuram inuentam. qui etiam nunc uellunt, ante triduo habent ieiunas, quod languidae minus aegre radices lanae retinent.*

Uellimna is in P B, *uellam mina* in A (cod. Paris. 6842). Scaliger, who at first wrote *uellimina*, changed his mind later on and preferred *uelamina*. It is true that in L. L. v. 130, *Vestis a uelis: uela ab eo quod uellus lana tona uniuerſa ouis. id dictum quod uellebant*, Varro seemingly connects *uelare* and *uellere*. But in the passage of the R. R. there is nothing to suggest *uelare* or *uelum*, or any of their derivatives; and if *uelamen* is used for *uellus*, the passages in which this occurs are very hard to find. Whereas the word *pannuuellium* (L. L. v. 114) points to the existence of other forms in which the same stem occurs which is found in *uellus*, and, as I think, in the *uellimna* (possibly *uellumna*) under discussion.

Another passage of the L. L. points in the same direction: v. 54, among the explanations of the name Velia, is, *quod ibi pastores Palatini ex ouibus ante tonsuram inuentam uellere lanam sint soliti, a quo †uelle inera* (so F, but G H *in aera*) *dicuntur*. As Scaliger rightly saw, this cannot be *uellera*; it must be a longer and more unusual form, whether *uellemina*, *uellimina*, or anything else, is uncertain. It was certainly not *uelamina*: it looks extremely like the *uellimna* of R. R. II. II. 9.

lanæ for *lana* is found as a correction in A, and must, I think, be right. There remains *aegre*, which barely admits of translation, unless *minus aegre* can be forced into meaning 'with less resistance.' I suspect *aegre* (*aeграe* B) was originally a gloss to *languidae*, and later found its way into the text. In any case it ought to be bracketed as doubtful.

At the end of B. II. the words *niger turrani noster* have been corrupted most curiously into *niger in tura ni in oste*. I have one remark to make in accounting for this odd corruption. It is, that the *i* preceding *n oste* must have been part of the vocative termination, *i.e.* that it was written in the archetype *Turanii*, not *Turani*. The same phenomenon I have observed in many MSS., and its value is not slight in the present case, for most of the depravation thus becomes intelligible, *turanii noste[r]* easily breaking up into *turani in oste*, and this *in* reacting later on the former part of the name.

B. III.

1. 4. *Itaque non sine causa maiores nostri ex urbe in agros redigebant suos ciues, quod et in pace a rusticis Romanis alebantur et in bello ab iis talebantur.*

Read *alleuabantur*, 'were supported.'

6. (*collis tebas*) *etiam nunc ita dicunt, cuius uestigium in agro Sabino uia salaria non longe a rete* (corrected in V to *a Reate*) *miliarius clius appellatur tebae. cum agri culturam primo propter paupertatem maxime indiscretam habebant, quod a pastoribus qui erant orti in eodem agro et serebant et pascebant, qui postea creuerunt peculia diuiserunt.*

Few will accept Keil's transference of *cum* from its MS. position before *agri culturam*, to a perfectly strange station between *m. clius* and *appellatur*. The construction *cuius uestigium m. clius appellatur tebae* = *c. uest. est quod m. cl. appellatur t.* is quite Varronian.¹

¹ This may be the origin of the corruption in Prop. IV. 10. 45, 46 *causa* *Feretri, Crimine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem*, if for *quod certo* we read

It does not seem necessary to change *cum habebant* into *cum haberent*; *cum* is here causal, the original use of land indiscriminately for tillage or pasture being regarded as the antecedent and cause of its subsequent division for the two purposes. For this indicatival *cum* in a causal sense, see Roby, 1725 sqq., who restricts it to writers before or coeval with Cicero, Gildersleeve, *Lat. Gramm.*, 564, n. 2, Holtze, *Syntax. priscor. script. Latin*, II. pp. 125 sqq. Gardner Hale, *The cum constructions*, p. 97, 224 sqq.

II. 5. *Tua enim (uilla) oblita est tabulis pictis nec minus signis; at mea uestigium ubi sit nullum Lysippi aut Antiphili, et crebra sartoris et pastoris.*

Professor Nettleship, *Contrib. to Latin Lexicography*, p. 583, shows that *sartor* may = *sarritor*, a hoer, and that it comes from a verb of the 3rd conjugation, *sario*, *sarui*, *sartum*, *sarcere*.

Keil's change of *et crebra* to *at* appears to me wrong, especially with *at* at the beginning of the clause, where it is necessary, *tua enim — at mea*. Our own idiom corresponds: 'with no trace of Lysippus or Antiphilus, and a great many of the hoer and the shepherd.'

9. *Axius aspicit Merulam et quid t̄gus inquit, est ista uilla si nec urbana habet ornamenta neque rustica membra?*

For the mysterious *gus* I suggest *ergo*, which was written *g°* and this misunderstood for *g̃* = *gus*. *Quid ergo? inquit: Est ista uilla, &c.?* or, as Jucundus thought, it may be *igitur*, written as *g'* (see Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbre-*

conserto, i.e. causa nominis Feretri est quod crimine conserto dux ducem ense ferit: 'as etymon of Feretrius, each leader first exchanges taunts, then strikes his opponent with his sword.' *conserere crimen* is intentional, in

allusion to the use of *conserere* in joining battle (*c. pugnam, manus, &c.*). The *first* act of the conflict between the two chiefs is to bandy recriminations, the second to draw swords.

viature, p. 132, a new work which every student of palæography should procure).

13. *De quibus et Poenus Mago et Cassius Dionysius et alii †quod separatim ac dispersim in libris reliquerunt.*

Quod admits, though only just, of an explanation, viz. a change from *authors* of works on agriculture (Mago, Dionysius) to similar *writings* by others, 'on which points M. and D. (treat), as well as what others have left specially or in scattered remarks in their writings.' It is much simpler to suppose *quod* a corruption of *quoque*.

18. *Merula mi, inquit, recipe me quaeso discipulum uillaticae pastionis. Ille, Qui simulac promiseris minerval, incipiam, inquit, id est cenam. Ego uero non recuso, uel hodie ex ista pastione †crebro.*

This is Keil's text, as P A B give it. Jucundus conj. *Quin* for *Qui*; yet *Qui* seems genuine nearly = *nam tu*, but taking up the offer of Axius more immediately. 'You have but to offer me the pupil's fee, and I shall begin.' *Crebro*, I suspect to be an error for *credo*.

III. 9. *Quis contra nunc †minthon non dicit sua nihil interesse, utrum iis piscibus stagnum habeat plenum an ranis.*

Varro is contrasting the good old times when *squali* and *mugiles* were the whole stock of the fish-pond, with the luxury of his own day, which despised any humble kind of fish, and stocked its ponds with mullets and similar expensive kinds. *Minthon* might therefore mean, as its being combined with *nebullus* by Columella (VIII. 16. 4) suggests, an upstart, or swaggerer; and if this is the idea, it would naturally be connected with *μίνθος*, 'brdure,' just as *μινθώσας ἄφες* is used by the comic poet Damoxenus seemingly = dismiss with contempt (Kock, III. p. 349), and similarly by Archestratus (there quoted by Kock), τὴν ἀφύην μίνθου πᾶσαν, πλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις. The passage

ornithonis locus; for *ambulatio* ē has obviously supplanted *ambulatiōe* (*ambulatione*), or *ambulatiōe* ē.

14. *ipsum falere ad duo pedes altum a stagno, latum ad quinque, ut in culcitas et columellas conuiuae pedibus circumire possint.*

Keil explains *conuiuae* of the birds who dine in company. Preceding commentators had explained it of the guests who were taken by the owner of the aviary to see the birds in or out of the water. The aviary is called 'a bird's play-house,' *theatridion auium*. The guests walk along a raised wall of 5 feet in width from one part of the spectacle to another. The *culcitae* are for *them*, not for the birds: the *columellae* are probably the small pillars on the top of which the birds are seated. If Varro meant by *conuiuae* the birds, he would have said, *ire*, not *circumire*, as it is the guests who *walk all round* the *stagnum*, to observe, what could not fail to amuse them, the various movements, attitudes, &c., of the birds, whether on land or in the water.

VI. 3. *Itaque Seius iis dat in menses singulos hordei singulos modios, ita ut in fetura det uberius, antequam salire incipiant eas a procuratore ternos pullos exigit.*

This passage only needs proper punctuation, *antequam salire incipiant eas, a procuratore ternos pullos exigit*. The nominative to *salire* is, of course, the male peacocks, and an accus. after it is quite regular.

VII. 5. The combination *pastor columbarum* is comparable with our 'ostrich-farms,' 'ostrich-farmer.' Propertius' *Cinnamon et multi pastor odoris Arabs*. (III. 13. 8) proves that *pastor* was also used of growers of cinnamon or other sweet-scented plants.

6. *Item quae felae sunt in certum locum ut disclusum ab aliis rete habeat quo transferatur e quo foras ex peristone euocare possint matresque.*

transferantur, P., i.e. a reading noted in the Ed. Pr. by Poliziano from the Codex Marcianus. *peristone* is, of course,

an error for *peristerone*. I suspect *possint* should be *possil*, like *medcatur*—*promat* just before, both of the dove-farmer. The construction seems to be *ut quae fetae sunt, (eas) habeat in certum locum disclusum rete (abl.) ab aliis, quo transferantur, e quo possit foras euocare ex p. (eas) matresque*. He seems to distinguish such of the doves as are pregnant (*fetae*) with those that are sitting (*matres*). *in certum locum* is not merely after *habeat*, 'keep in a place,' but is partly determined by *transferantur*, though *in locum habere* is quite a possible construction in pre-Augustan Latin, and was revived as archaic in the age of Fronto. See Tyrrell & Purser's *Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. vi., p. 92.

7. *quos (accipitres) columbarii interficere solent duabus uirgis uiscatis defictis in terra inter se curuatis, cum inter eas posuerint obligatum animal quod tilem petere soleant accipitres.*

Salmasius conj. *impetere* which is, in meaning, just the right word = 'to make a dash at.' Keil rightly questions the word in III. 16. 8, where MSS. give *inpectantes*; but, in the present passage, I hold with Salmasius, except that possibly *quod id impetere* may be thought nearer to the letters of the MSS. Lucan VI. 223, of a she-bear wounded by a javelin, *Se rotat in uulnus telumque irata receptum Impetit et secum fugientem circuit hastam*, for so Haskins, Hosius, Francken agree to edit, against the Vatican palimpsest, which has *Impedit*. The aptness of the word in the passage of Varro should, I think, count for more than the fact that it is not known to occur in coeval writers.

IX. 4. *Gallos salaces qui animaduertunt, si sunt lacertosi, rubentis crista, etc.*

To complete the construction *eligant oportet* should be supplied from the former sentence. There is no reason for bracketing *qui*.

11. *Qui, ut hoc intellegant, concutiant, errare, quod †inanes uitales uenas confundant in iis. Idem aiunt, cum ad lumen sustuleris, quod luceat id esse †ob inane.*

Those who shake the eggs (to see whether the chick is hatching) do wrong, because they confuse (disorder) the veins of the embryo inside before they are well filled out. The same authorities tell you, if, when an egg is lifted to the light, it is transparent, such an egg has nothing inside.

Inanes admits of a meaning, and from *ob* it is not far to *ouum* or *obum*. The same word appears in I. 2. 11 as *cum*, and was there corrected by Poliziano.

18. *Hae nouissimae in triclinium †genanium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum.*

Keil conj. *cenantium: ientantium* would be nearer the MSS.

x. 3. *Anseribus †admittendum iis tempus est aptissimum a bruma.*

Victorius, with his usual masterliness, corrected *admittendum iis* to *admittendis*. There is a very similar corruption in Cic. Att. V. 11. 6: *in praefectis excusatio iis quos uoles deferto* for *excusandis*.

7. *Quotiescumque sumpserunt (cibum) locus solet purgari, quod ipsae amant locum purum neque ipsae ullum, ubi fuerunt, relinunt purum.*

Varro is speaking of geese (*anser*es), a *masc.* word, as the words immediately preceding this passage prove that he considered it, *sic curati circiter duobus mensibus fiunt pingues*. Why then the double *feminine*, *ipsae—ipsae*? Keil's suggestion that Varro wrote *quod (hae aues) amant l. purum neque ipsae u. u. f. r. purum* seems over-hazardous. Possibly, in both places, *†se* (*perse*) has been mistaken for (*i*)*psae*. This would give a nice double meaning, "left to themselves, they like a clean place, and, *if* left to themselves, never leave any place clean they have been in."

The filthiness of the goose might well deserve such an epigram.

xi. 1. *Primum locum, qui est facultas, eligere oportet palustrem.*

Qui is here a dative, and is supported by both B and P. In A it has been corrected to *cui*. In Bücheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 1020. 2: *Qui fueras carus uiuus et ille tibi*, 1060 5: *uota, parens, nocuere tibi, qui numina saeva | ut plura criperent, plura dedere bona, qui* is also dative: cf. Birt in *Rhein. Mus.* for 1896, p. 564. In *Cic. de Rep.* III. 11. 19: *tribuere id cuique quod sit quoque dignum*, Du Rieu thought the C which Baiter prints had been changed into Q (QVIQVE) in the palimpsest. Though, therefore, Keil prints in *Varro*, III. II. 1 *quoi*, it seems possible that *qui* should be retained, as an existing form of the dat. = *cui* or *quoi*: and so Munro proposed to write in *Catull.* ii. 3, xxiv. 5 (*J. of Philol.* IV. 247). Cf. *Neue-Wagener Formenlehre*, ii., p. 454.

2. *Circum totum parietem intrinsecus crepido lata, in qua secundum parietem sunt tecta cubilia: ante eas uestibulum tearum exaequatum opere tectorio.*

† *carum* seems very meaningless with *ante eas* immediately preceding; possibly *duarum* or *eodem*.

4. *Quae, ut superiores, neque propter fecunditatem neque propter suauitatem saginantur †et sic pascendo fiunt pingues.*

I suggest *et si*; they are not fattened (like geese, III. 10. fin.) by artificial methods, although they become fat by merely grazing about.

xii. 6. *L. Aelius putabat ab eo dictum leporem a celeritudine, quod leuipes esset. Ego arbitror a gracco uocabulo antico, quod cum Aeolis †et bonum λέποριν appellabant.*

Perhaps *set bonum*, 'that is, a fine one,' a limitation of the word as used in Greek. 16. 24 *e fico mel, sed non bonum*.

xv. 2. *In hoc dolium addunt glandem aut nuces iuglandes aut castaneam. Quibus in tenebris, †cumularim positum est in doleis, fiunt pingues.*

Poliziano's v. 1. *cumulatim* (cf. Götz, Thesaur. Glossar. Emendat., I. p. 16: *aceruatim cumulatim*) is so thoroughly appropriate that it seems wasted labour to improve upon it. *Cum* must have fallen out *after cumulatim*, as I think, following Varro's usual rules of collocation, not *before* it.

xvi. 4. *Eae apes non sunt solitaria natura, ut aquilae, sed ut homines. Quod si †in hoc faciunt etiam graguli, at non idem.*

Keil brackets *in*: I think it may be a truncated *inde*, from copying men.

xvi. 5. *Tria enim harum, cibus, domus, opus, neque idem quod cibus cera, nec quod ea mel, nec quod domus.*

Read *nec quod <hoc> domus.*

ib. *Foris pascuntur, intus opus faciunt, quod dulcissimum quod est, et deis et hominibus est acceptum, quod fauus uenit in altaria et mel ad principia conuiui et in secundam mensam administratur.*

A sentence quite in the style of the *de lingua latina*, particularly in the accumulated *quod*, 'which, as being very sweet, is welcome both to gods and men, inasmuch as the honeycomb finds its way to altars.' The last *quod* introduces an example or circumstance which proves the point, just as immediately after, 6 fin. *itaque iis* (bees) *unctus qui accersit, pungunt, non ut muscae ligurriunt, quod nemo has uidet, ut illas, in carne aut sanguine aut adipe*, 'since no one sees bees licking meat, blood, or fat.' Keil alters *quod* in this latter passage to *quo*, 'owing to which': I think, unnecessarily.

9. *Omnes ut in exercitu uiuunt atque alternis dormiunt et opus faciunt pariter et (om. A.) ut colonias mittunt.*

Either *et* should be omitted with A, or for *ut*, following Crescentius' paraphrase, *in colonias*, should be substituted

in; a confusion which I have illustrated in my *Velleius*, p. 164. In 16. 29 Varro has *progeniem in colonias mittunt*.

Sed, o Merula, Axius noster ne dum haec audit physicam machiscat, quod de fructu nihil dixi, nunc cursu lampada tibe trado.

Macescat Scal., fatiscat Schneider, marcescat Keil.

Scaliger's *macescat* seems to me preferable to Keil's *marcescat* on these grounds: (1) *macescit* occurs also in I. 55. 1, where Keil's *marcescit* is a conjecture drawn from III. 5. 3, III. 16. 20 (birds and bees *pinning*), and not so well applicable to *olives*, beaten heavily and becoming lean and thin in consequence. (2) *macescit* would more readily assume an *h* (*machiscat* P A B) than *marcescit*.

11. *Hos numquam minus, ut peraeque ducerent, dena milia sestertia ex melle recipere esse solitos, cum teis et uelle expectare, ut suo potius tempore mercatores admitterent, quam celerius alieno.*

I suggest *cum bis etiam uellent exp.*, 'at the same time that they were willing to wait even twice (*i.e.*, for a second offer), in order to take a purchaser when it suited them rather than in greater haste at an inconvenient time.'

12. *Ubi non resonent imagines hic enim sonus harum fugae existimatus esse procerum.*

If this is what Varro wrote, he must have followed some writer on bees who stated that hives were not to be set where there was an echo, as the bees would not remain, fancying, from the sound, that their aristocracy was taking to flight, and themselves not caring to stay, if they withdrew. He certainly talks of *reguli* in 17, but the case is not quite the same, as *proceres* seems to imply an *order* whereas *reguli* are the rival kings (*reges*), and of these there could be but few.

13. Among the favourite foods of bees the last-mentioned is *cytisum* (neuter) *quod ualentibus utilissimum est*. The sense

must be as Ursinus inferred from Colum. IX. 5. 6, *minus ualentibus*, when the bees are not in health; but the emendation is hardly probable. I should prefer <non> *ualentibus*, as *inualentibus* appears to be non-existent.

16. *Media aluo in qua introeant apes faciunt foramina parua dextra ac sinistra. Ad extrema qua mellarii fauum eximere possint opercula inponunt aluis.*

Ad extremam Keil; rather, *ab extrema*, sc. *aluo*.

18. *ut expediat mellario, cum duo sint eadem aluo, interficere nigrum; cum sit cum altero rege, esse seditiosum et corrumpere aluom †quod fuget aut cum multitudine fugetur.*

Varro is here speaking of rival *reges* in a hive, a black and a speckled. In such a case the black one should be killed, as otherwise he will prove a ringleader of revolt, and seduce the hive from its allegiance till he succeeds in banishing his rival or is himself banished with the rabble that follows him. *Quod* shall therefore be *quoad*, on which form in the R. R., see Keil's Commentary, p. 5. Or the subject to *fuget* may be the other *rex* (the *uarius*), and *multitudine* refer to the main body of the bees, his subjects. Such a change of nominative is common with Varro.

20. *Si transferendae sunt aluos in alium locum.*

I have little doubt that Varro wrote *si transferenda est aluos*: for when *transferenda ē* had become *transferendae*, it was natural to add *sunt*.

30. *A mellario cum id fecisse sunt animaduersae iaciundo in eas puluere et circumlinniendo aere †perterritae quo uolunt perducere non longe inde oblinunt erithace.*

Keil retains this as an anacoluthon. I believe such an anacoluthon to be impossible, and solve *perterritae* as a corruption of *perterrēt* &; another *palæographical* error.

34. *sine alius non sit fertilis nisi quid eximatur exempto* (*exemptio* Ursinus) *cum est maior, neque universam neque palam facere oportet, ne deficiant animum.*

sine is more probably *sine*, with which it is confused *sexcenties*, than *sin*. In *nisi quid* I cannot believe, with Keil, that *ne quid* is concealed and nothing more. Rather there would seem to be a corruption in which *ne—quidem* played some part, perhaps *ne si (quid) eximatur quidem*, 'if, on the other hand, the hive should not be fruitful, care must be taken, that even if any portion of the honey is removed, in case such removal is on a larger scale, it should not be extended to all the combs or be effected openly,' *i.e.* allowing that some of the honey is withdrawn (which, in the case of an unfruitful hive is always questionable), it must, if the amount withdrawn is considerable, be done partially and, as it were, by stealth.

XVII. 9. *in Baiano taut ardis tanta ardebat cura, ut architecto permiserit uel ut suam pecuniam consumeret.*

Perhaps *in Baiano autem (p)ar(a)diso*, in his pleasure-grounds at Baiae.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE GUEST OF MAECENAS.

HOR. *Od.* II. 20, 5-7.

Non ego, pauperum
 Sanguis parentum, non ego, *quem vocas*,
 Dilecte Maecenas, obibo.

THE words "quem vocas" in the above quotation are far more difficult of interpretation than at the first glance they appear. There is here no perplexing choice of conflicting readings, no ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, and yet commentators seem unable to agree as to the precise meaning of the expression. Nevertheless, it will be found, we think, not unworthy of close examination; for its elucidation, if we mistake not, will throw a strong light on the character of Horace, and bring into prominence certain features in his moral physiognomy which have been hardly sufficiently noticed, especially as regards his attitude towards his friend and patron Maecenas.

The passage in which the words in question occur is not to be explained on *a priori* grounds, but by the help of the context, and by parallels from Horace himself. Its right interpretation will be arrived at rather by getting into moral *rapport* with the writer than by minute verbal scholarship.

Still there is a preliminary word to be said on the subject of "vocas." We think it will generally be admitted that "voco," used absolutely, conveys the idea of *an invitation to dinner* rather than anything else. No doubt it is sometimes used absolutely in other senses, but only when

the context is such that there can be no ambiguity about the meaning. In a passage, however, like the present, where the context does not fix the meaning, we are entitled to understand the expression, provisionally at least, in the sense of 'invite to dinner': see, *e.g.* (to quote one classical example out of the many given by the commentators and lexicographers), Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 423 :—

Frigida caelestum matres Arethusa *vocat*.

The burden of proof then, that the verb is not to be taken in this sense, rests on those who assert that this meaning is not to be found in the words here. Accordingly the commentators, since Bentley, almost unanimously assume, either expressly or tacitly, that such a meaning would be intolerable in a poem of this kind. That a poet aspiring to immortality, announcing his approaching translation to the skies, when, as a melodious swan, he shall soar far beyond "the smoke and stir of this dim spot which men call earth," should, in that rapt ecstasy, allege, as one of his chief titles to fame, that his patron frequently invited him to dinner (!), does appear, at first sight, to transcend the bounds of probability, were that poet even more notorious than Horace was for that "frightful realism" which Goethe found so offensive.

Hence practically all modern editors endorse Bentley's sarcastic comment on the interpretation "*vocas*" = "*ad cenam vocas*" :—

"Hæc interpretatio parasiti potius gulam quam gratum clientis animum exprimit, quasi vero magis esset cum Maecenate pulpamenta comedere quam vitam pecuniam agrum in Sabinis ei debere."

We need only mention the views of two modern editors, one German and one English, as typical of the rest. Orelli, comparing "*Pauperemque dives me petit*" (*Od.*

ii. 18, 10), says, "Utrumque significat liberum sibi ad Maecenatem aditum patere, seque ab eo veri amici loco haberi et sincere diligi."

Page, *in loco*, says, "'vocas,' 'dost summon,' i.e. to poetic endeavour, to the hope of glory and immortality"; and adds, "If Plüss be right in his opinion as to the ode, then 'vocas' would be clearly used of calling on Horace by name at the funeral, and bidding him hail and farewell." He does not allude to "vocas" = "ad cenam vocas" as an even possible interpretation.

Horace says he will assume the wings of the tuneful swan, and so, Superior to Envy (mark these words!), he will leave the cities of men, full of low-thoughted care, and begin to enjoy the immortality which he anticipates. We venture to say that the words "Superior to Envy" strike the dominating note of this poem, and furnish the key to the right interpretation of "quem vocas." However nobly independent and free from false shame Horace might be, he must, with his sensitive poet's mind, have deeply felt, throughout his whole life, the slights to which his humble origin made him liable.

He was not more magnanimous than Shakespeare, and Shakespeare felt them too—

"When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes
I, all alone, beweepe my outcast state . . ."

It is a bitter thing for a genius to feel that accidental deficiencies expose him to the detraction and contempt of men intellectually and morally his inferiors.

It is true that Horace feels the littleness of the men who pretended to despise him for what was really one of his titles to honour—

"Ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas,"

but the fact of his being thus unjustly assailed cannot have been otherwise than galling to him.

At the time when the second book of the Odes was written this malignant spirit must have been still vigorous. When the fourth book was published, at a much later date, this envy had been in a great measure silenced by the verdict of fame : cp. Od. iv. 3, 16,

“Et iam dente *minus mordeor* invido”;

but the words “*minus mordeor*” show that he had felt that “serpent’s tooth” before, and that he felt it even yet, though in a less degree. In fact, like Hercules,

“Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.”

It was only by leaving the world altogether he could entirely escape it: hence

Neque in terris morabor
Longius, *Invidiaque maior*
Urbes relinquam.

Horace’s detractors assailed him on two grounds—(1) on account of his low extraction; (2) as having, by mean arts, as they insinuated, managed to creep into the favour of Augustus and Maecenas. These two grounds are stated in Lib. I, vi. Sat., where we have what we may call, to use the well-worn phrase, Horace’s *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, ll. 45 *sqq.* :—

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum
Quem *rodunt omnes* libertino patre natum
Nunc quia sim tibi Maecenas *convictor*.

These were the two stock themes of Horace’s detractors, so far as his position at the time was concerned. He was of bourgeois origin, not noble, and he was the friend and guest (*convictor*) of Maecenas.

The word “convictor” has a most important bearing on the interpretation of “quem vocas.” Though not

necessarily = dinner-guest, it comes as near to that meaning as possible, "conviva" and "convictor" being only slightly varied forms of the same stem. L. & S. explain it as "He who lives with one, a *table companion, messmate*." Scheller, s. v. convictus, in his Latin Lexicon, says, quoting from Nepos, habere aliquem in convictu, "to have constant intercourse with." "*This intercourse among the Romans consisted chiefly in eating with one another.*" Compare Cic. *Fam.* ix. 24, 3 (Cicero is advising his friend Paetus not to forego society):—

"Sed mehercule, mi Paete, extra iocum moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror, ut cum viris bonis, iucundis, amantibus tui vivas: nihil est aptius vitae, nihil ad beate vivendum accommodatius: nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus remissionemque animorum quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri quam Graeci: illi *συνπόσια* aut *σύνδειπνα*, id est, compotationes et concenationes, nos 'convivia,' quod tum maxime simul vivitur. Vides ut te philosophando revocare coner ad cenas."

Also *De Senectute* 45, much to the same effect. Compare also Tacitus, *Germania*, 21, "*Convictibus et hospitiiis non alia gens effusius indulget . . . pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit.*"

And to show that the notion of a close connexion between the ideas of friendship and eating together was not confined to gormandizing Romans, we may be permitted to quote the sarcastic language of Thomas Carlyle (*Sartor Resartus*, chap. iii.), "What else is the true meaning of spiritual union but an eating together? Thus we, instead of friends, are dinner-guests."

Indeed, that the "convictus" of Romans implied all this, at least in the opinion of Augustus, is made plain by the following passage, quoted by Suetonius from a letter

of Augustus to Maecenas, referring to Horace by name—a passage exceedingly pertinent—

“Ante ipse sufficebam scribendis epistolis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo *ab ista parasitica mensa* ad hanc regiam et nos in epistolis scribendis adiuvabit.”

And again, in a letter to Horace himself, “Sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tanquam si convictor *mihi* fueris” (the “*mihi*” being probably a playful allusion to Horace’s close intimacy with his *other* patron).

Bentley, in his sarcasm about the “*parasiti gula*,” was unconsciously echoing the very charge which Augustus jestingly repeats, and which furnished the most ordinary weapon of attack to Horace’s detractors.

By his own admission, Horace certainly gave grounds enough for such a malignant view of his relation to his great friend. He would seem, as he humorously acknowledges, when at Rome, to have been always on his way to Maecenas’ parties and levées, or coming from them—

“Tu pulses omne quod obstat
Ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras !”

The excitement into which an invitation from Maecenas threw him, in the earlier stages of their intimacy, he amusingly describes (*Sat.* II. vii. 33 *sqq.*) :—

Iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
Convivam, Nemone oleum fert ocus? Ecquis
Audit? cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.

As to the value set on an invitation to dine with a great man, see Juvenal’s sarcastic remarks, which would, no doubt, pretty well express the view which many in society

took of Horace's devoted attendance on his friend (*Sat.* v. 13 *sqq.*):—

Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
Mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus . . .

Need we pursue this part of the argument further? Horace evidently made himself laughable in the eyes of his friends, contemptible in those of his enemies, by his fondness for Maecenas' table.

And yet let us not hastily subscribe to the charges of his accusers, and brand him as a parasite and sycophant. A dinner with Maecenas was not to him an ordinary meal: it was the sacrament of friendship. We must remember the strength of his attachment to his friend. Passion with him, as with many poets, seems to have thrown itself rather into the devotion of friendship than of sexual love. It was so with our own Shakespeare, so with Tennyson, so with Israel's lyrist, who, in *his* In Memoriam to Jonathan, speaks of that friend's love, which he fully reciprocated, as wonderful, passing the love of woman.

Horace was drawn to Maecenas by a hundred ties. It was Maecenas who had taken him up when a poor struggling *scriba*, had overlooked his lowly birth and his social awkwardness, and encouraged his first attempts at poetry. He it was who had first recognized his genius, and introduced him to the Imperial court. Who ever forgets his first patron? Horace was not the man to do so. Besides all this, there was the added charm of high birth, rank, elegant accomplishments, congenial tastes.

Can we wonder that Horace sought every occasion of being with such a friend; that his first invitation to his table was an epoch in his life; that he was never so happy as when gathered with the small circle of distinguished men who were feasted at that hospitable board?

For Maecenas was not one of those who "dulled the palm with entertainment." To be a regular guest of his was an honour which the noblest in Rome might prize, so choice and exclusive was he in his society. Maecenas was well known to be one "*paucorum hominum*." His friends were men of the highest character, as he was "*cautum dignos assumere, prava Ambitione procul*."

We must, in candour, add that, with all these dignified motives of attraction, there were mingled some of a more carnal nature. Horace was a man who, like Thackeray, loved a good dinner and a good glass of wine. He liked, as well as any man, "*accedere ad unctum*," and we know that Maecenas' little suppers were of the most *recherché* style. Horace could not, as he tells us in one of his Odes, attempt to indulge his guests with wine like that which Maecenas' cellars supplied.

Putting, then, all these considerations together, is it too much to say that, *to Horace*, whether he was right or wrong in thinking so, it seemed that the one most precious privilege of his life was, that he was the intimate friend and favoured guest of Maecenas, the man whom he loved so much that, without him, he found life literally impossible?

Does then Bentley's sneer at the parasitical gluttony involved in the interpretation "*ad cenam vocas*" seem so well-founded after all?

But again let us return to the point from whence we started. We ventured to assert that in the words "*Invidia major*" the key to the interpretation of "*quem vocas*" would be found.

We have endeavoured to show that, considering the relations existing between Horace and Maecenas, there is no absurdity in supposing that this "*ius vocationis*," so to speak, was regarded by Horace as the greatest honour and blessing of his life; but we would now urge that a com-

parison of the 20th Ode of the second book with that passage in the *Satires* to which we have already referred, viz. I. vi. 45 *sqq.* :—

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
Nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor,

(almost exactly = *quia me vocas*) makes it almost certain that the "*quem vocas*" *must* be here used in the sense which has been so much ridiculed.

The two things which, at the time Horace wrote (*nunc*), formed his enemies' constant theme of detraction were, as we have seen, (1) his birth: (2) his intimacy with Maecenas, that he was Maecenas' *convictor*, with all which the word implied. Assuming that "*quem vocas*" has the meaning "*ad cenam vocas*," then this passage exactly tallies with the other.

Horace proudly emphasises the taunts of Invidia. He *is* "*libertino patre natus*"; he is "*Pauperum sanguis parentum*"; let who will utter the sneer, "*Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus*," he *is* the *convictor* of his friend—

Quem vocas

Dilecte Maecenas.

Thy guest and friend, beloved
 Maecenas, thine.

A. A. BURD.

THE SIXTY-SEVENTH ODE OF CATULLUS.

WHEN Professor Robinson Ellis declares that anything in Catullus is involved in great obscurity, it behoves everyone who thinks he can make his way through it to pay great heed to his steps lest he fall. Consequently it is with much diffidence that I put forward the following solution of the problems presented—through a curious paradox—by the plain tale from the hills which constitutes the 67th Ode; and I should hardly have ventured to do so at all, had I not found myself in substantial agreement with Munro as regards the actual story. It will be most convenient to discuss the difficulties of the poem in detail, and then to give what I consider to be the correct version of the intrigues carried on by the too facile Brixian.

The poet begins by addressing the Door as

O dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti.

The point of this line has never yet been satisfactorily explained, although it is of fundamental importance for the criticism and discussion of the whole poem, so much so, indeed, that its neglect has vitiated every attempt at obtaining a clear, consistent story, and has been one reason why Munro's elucidation was not immediately received by all the world as quite beyond dispute. Taking the line as it stands, the most abandoned metaphysician will acknowledge that it is either sarcastic or not sarcastic. But it is absolutely impossible that it should have a sarcastic meaning, as in that case it must inevitably refer to an event in this *chronique scandaleuse* of which the poet as yet knows

nothing, the relation of which does, in fact, constitute the Door's main plea for exculpation, and on which the poet *then* indulges in a comment of bitter irony—

Egregium narras mira pietate parentem,
Qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium !

But if it is impossible that the line should be sarcastic, it is equally impossible that it should be anything else. In the former case we can at least attach a meaning to it, and even a wrong meaning is better than no meaning at all. My support of the antithesis is based upon the following considerations. It is quite incredible that Catullus contrasted two men in the first line of a poem merely as *vir* and *parens*, and did not immediately proceed to let his readers know who they were : therefore we must read *nato* in line 5 with Fröhlich, and *maligne* with O. The "parent" of the first line is the Balbus of the third and fourth, while the "darling husband" is the son of lines 5-8 ; the former, we are told, was well served by the Door, the latter badly. In what sense, then, could the Door be called *iucunda* to both ? Munro translated : ' Door, well-pleasing to the husband and master of the house ; well-pleasing, too, to his father before him,' thus implying that the younger Balbus rejoiced in a house where his good name had been dragged in the dirt by the harlotries of his wife. I presume that such an idea requires no formal refutation : it does not furnish the line with a meaning, as is done by the theory of sarcasm, and yet even at the risk of transferring to myself Humpty-Dumpty's contempt for Alice, I venture to assert that *iucundus* can mean nothing but "pleasing," "delightful." If these arguments are sound, it is a clear inference that the first line calls for emendation, and I think we are bound to read

O dulci *iniucunda* viro, iucunda parenti.

This gives a sense in perfect accordance with lines 3-8,

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and a point to the otherwise pointless epithet of *viro*.¹ That the negative notion should come first is neither more nor less unnatural than that the son should be named before his father, and no doubt the metre is responsible.

The next difficulty meets us in line 9--

Ita Caecilio placeam, cui tradita nunc sum.

Who was Caecilius? Munro identified him with the *dulcis vir* of line 1; Schwabe thought he was the Balbus of line 3, and so dissevered the latter from the *senex* of line 4, as if there were not enough persons in this drama already. Both views are disproved by the word *nunc*, which is surely employed by the Door as indicating that the house has passed from the old Balbus of line 3 and the young Balbus of line 5 to one Caecilius. Hence Prof. Ellis is right in regarding the latter as the *third* tenant, but I cannot follow him when he states that this Caecilius is the Brixian lady's second husband. In that case the Door's hope of a quiet life at last, indicated by the confident tone of the prayer in line 9, would show a belief in skin-changing Ethiopians quite impossible for so experienced a portal.

Our next difficulty is in line 12, where the best MSS. have the portentous

Verum istius populi ianua qui te facit.

The late Professor Palmer proposed, though without much confidence,

Verum istuc populi lingua quieta tacet,

¹ It may, perhaps, be maintained that *dulci viro* here means simply "my dear friend"; and this view, if correct, would go a long way towards rendering the received reading unobjectionable. But there is not the slightest indication in the poem that young Balbus was a friend of the poet's. On the contrary, Catullus, in almost every sentence

which he utters as interlocutor, emphasizes his lack of *personal* acquaintance with the family and its fortunes. So persistently, indeed, is this done, that one might venture to see in it a consciousness on the poet's part of the ambiguity attending the phrase in question.

or for the last words *quiete legit*. But though certainty is impossible with our present MS. authority, there is a good deal to be said for this reading. The changes, if numerous, are all easy, and it recognises (as Scaliger, Lachmann, and others had already done) that the word *ianua* is probably a corrupt word itself, and the cause of corruption in others. If *ianua* be retained in the vocative, as in Prof. Ellis's

Verum est os populi, "ianua, tute facis,"

the next couplet becomes a mere iteration--

Qui, quacumque aliquid reperitur non bene factum,
Ad me omnes clamant, "ianua, culpa tua est."

Nothing shows this more clearly than Prof. Ellis's translation of his proposal as "Door, it is yourself that 's the culprit." On the other hand, if we keep *ianua* in the nominative, as in Baehrens' original suggestion,

Verum est vox populi, "ianua cuncta facit,"

we force upon Catullus the following piece of ratiocination: "People say, 'The door does everything,' the proof that they say so being that on the discovery of every fresh scandal they all shout at me, 'Door, it is your fault.'" Catullus never used up three lines of poetry for such a logical *tour de force* as that. The sense required is given in Mr. Palmer's suggestion, and may be represented thus: 'It is unjust to blame this house for aught that happened. None of the lady's evil deeds can be charged against *me*, for she was corrupted before she came here. *But people ignore this fact*, and on the discovery of each fresh scandal, everybody throws the blame on me." Thereupon the poet replies that the door must give a full account of the lady's previous history, and this account occupies the entire

remainder of the poem, which presents nothing calling for special discussion.

The whole story will then be as follows: Catullus hears on his return to Verona (*dicunt*, l. 3, *ferunt*, l. 5, *feraris*, l. 7) that during his absence the elder Balbus had died, and his house had passed into the occupation of his son. Up to this point it had possessed the best of reputations, but now the son introduced into it as his bride a lady who, although previously wedded, was supposed to be a maid, owing to her husband's inability to consummate the marriage. She now entered upon a course of such flagrant immorality that the house finally became the talk of the town, and the unlucky husband, disgusted with it because of the memories with which it would always be associated for him, sold it to one Caecilius, and probably left Verona. Catullus comes now to reproach the Door for faithlessness to its good old master's son in permitting the debauchery of a maiden with a reputation hitherto unstained. The Door, in reply and defence, asserts that the damage was done before the girl ever came near it, and that she had been very far from making her first acquaintance with sin inside its portals, although people in general chose to disregard that fact, and laid all the blame upon the innocent. Catullus displays some incredulity, at the same time expressing a desire for the Door's exculpation, and receives the following account of the lady's previous history. The report that she had come to the house of the younger Balbus as a maid was incorrect, as the impotency of her former husband had been compensated by that husband's father, who had taken his son's place either through wicked lust, or for the sake of continuing the race. Furthermore, the lady had not been contented with this family arrangement, but had committed adultery with other Brixians, including Postumius, Cornelius, and a long-legged fellow with red eyebrows. The latter's name is suppressed, but

no doubt his identity was much more certain than that of the others whose names are given. All this information the Door acquired at first-hand, for the lady often discoursed upon her Brixian exploits when sitting beside it with her servants—an interesting testimony to the immutability of human nature.

The *πρώτον ψεύδος* of the current versions seems to me to be the mistaken idea that the Door is describing irregularities committed by the lady *after* her marriage to Balbus. Such irregularities she did undoubtedly commit, but they were obviously well known to all Verona, and there is not the slightest vestige of a reason why the poet should represent himself as coming to question the Door about them. On the contrary, what he desires to bring out is the lady's previous history—the history of her conduct while in Brixia, which is not accurately known to the people of Verona, and about which they do not trouble themselves :

Nemo quaerit nec scire laborat,

as the Door complains. It is therefore essential to a right understanding of the circumstances that the MS. tradition of l. 34 should be retained—

Brixia Veronae mater amata meae ;

and those scholars who alter *meae* to *tuae*, or omit the couplet entirely, thus confining the whole of the poem to Brixia, embarrass themselves with a veritable wasps' nest of difficulties. They cannot explain why the Brixians are ignorant of the lady's crimes in l. 17, and know all about her in ll. 31ff., why the Door's defence of itself should be to give an account of affairs with which the Brixians are perfectly familiar, why young Balbus, who, on this showing, would be a Brixian, should be the only Brixian who had not heard what the rest of the town knew, or why we

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should have so elaborate an apology for a Brixian door's knowing a Brixian scandal. Another quite mistaken interference with the MSS. is Riese's *servire* for *servisse* in l. 5, implying that the scandal is still in progress. It is not; and to the reasons already given to prove that it is not, I may append, in conclusion, the decisive imperfect of l. 45 :—

Praeterea addebat quendam quem dicere nolo.

W. A. GOLIGHER.

SOPHOCLES INTERPRETED BY VIRGIL.

Antigone, 781, 2.

Ἔρως ἀνίκαιε μάχαν
Ἔρως, ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις.

WE have here one of those passages, easy in appearance, over which, however, a battle of editors has long been waged with doubtful issue.

Grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.

One is almost driven to wish that the Grammatici should agree to exalt one of their number to the position of *Summus Exegetes* (*Fiat Aristarchus*!), and end the strife by taking his judgment as decisive.

But failing such an agreement, we shall endeavour to show that judgment has been pronounced (at least implicitly) on the question by one whose opinion in such a matter is entitled to even greater weight than would be that of an Aristarchus on a question of Homeric criticism.

However, before adducing this opinion, we shall briefly sum up the present state of the argument as regards the meaning of κτήμασι, which is of course the *crux* of the passage.

The question in dispute is, has κτήμασι here its ordinary meaning of *possessions*, *wealth*, or not? If it has, what is its relevancy here?

The opinion that the word does mean 'wealth,' in this passage, has by far the most advocates.

Hermann says (see *Soph.*, *in loco*, in the edition of

Carl Gottlob. Aug. Erfurt. *Lipsiæ*) "Non videtur mihi dubitari posse quin κτήματα pro opulentis ac potentibus dixerit."

As to the words ἐν . . . πίπτεις = ἐμπίπτεις, there is no exact agreement among commentators. Some would take it apparently to refer to the assaults of an alien power on certain classes of persons, as Hermann, "invadit opulentos"; others understand it in the more obvious and natural sense of the *breaking-out* of an inner force latent in all, but generally repressed, which, when it once gets the upper hand, becomes uncontrollable. "Tamen usque recurret." It is applied generally to *instinctive* as opposed to rational impulses, outbursts of οἶκτος, μανία, φόβος; e.g. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2, 19: καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φόβος ἐμπίπτει. For this sense see L. & S. s. v. This meaning would, if κτήμασι = κτήνεσι, exactly suit the notion of the instinctive non-rational assaults of Ἔρως on the animal creation, in fact on all beings, supernatural included, possessed of life.

Those commentators who lean to Hermann's view find support in such passages as this from Pindar's *Isth.* i. 68:

εἰ δέ τις ἔνδον νέμει πλοῦτον κρυφαῖον
ἄλλοισι δ' ἐμπίπτων γελᾷ, ψυχὰν Ἀΐδα τελέων οὐ
φράζεται δόξας ἀνευθεν,

where, whatever may be the meaning of ἐμπίπτων, the notion of such an outburst of pent instinct seems to be excluded.

Prof. Jebb adopts Hermann's view in substance, translating ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις, "who makest havoc of wealth."

But although this view is supported by such weighty names, there is, on the other side, the authority of Brunck, whose powerful argument *contra* we quote in full, as it sets forth, in a small space, the weak points of the case for the interpretation κτήμασι = *divitiis*:

"Parum valet ad vim Amoris declarandam; si dicatur opulentos invadere. Libidinem fovēt divitiae; sed vel pauper amare possit: aliena est prorsus a poetae sententia opulentiae mentio.

"Summa sententiae est Amor omnia domat *quod ostenditur enumeratione animantium omnium*, quorum varia genera vel diserte nominantur, vel a sedibus quas incolunt innuuntur. Primo loco τὰ κτήματα seu τὰ κτήνη nominat poeta. Siquid contra librorum fidem mutandum esset pro κτήμασι legerem κτήνεσι (κτήνη, βοσκήματα Hesych.): sed non video cur eadem significatio nomini κτήμα tribui non potuerit, maxime in chorico cantico cuius indoles paene dithyrambica eiusmodi metonymias affectat."

The essential defect of Brunck's argument, as it seems, is that it is impossible to find a classical parallel for κτήμα = *pecus*; and although we might easily escape from this difficulty by reading κτήνεσι, as he proposes, yet it is not easy to explain how a difficult word such as κτήμασι is, in the context, could have been substituted for the easy κτήνεσι; though it must be admitted that the copyist, not looking beyond the *word*, may have substituted the more common κτήμασι.

Nevertheless there is something to be said for the view that κτήματα, even in classical times, may have been used, at least colloquially, as = *pecudes*, 'cattle' instead of 'chattles,' though no examples of that use have emerged into classical literature. The words are indeed almost as closely connected as our 'cattle' and 'chattles,' both meaning 'possessions,' though, in classical Greek, κτήματα is almost confined to inanimate property.

However, κτήμα may be applied even to animate objects occasionally, as *e.g.* in Eurip. *Medea*, 49:

παλαῖδ' οἴκων κτήμα δεσποίνης ἐμῆς,

where it is used of a slave; and from a slave to an irrational animal, another ἐμψυχον ὄργανον, is a very short step.

Again, that the meaning of 'brute' was always latent in the word is plain from Brunck's reference, already quoted; and, in Sophocles' *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek*, we have also 'flocks' given as one of the meanings of κτήματα.

This meaning, however, seems to have died out again, for, according to Contopoulos' *Lexicon of Modern Greek*, a 'beast' now in Mod. Greek = κτήνος, not κτήμα.

So far, then, as the word itself is concerned, those who assert that κτήμασι must = *divitiis*, seem to have slightly the best of the argument; but the case, we think, is reversed when the question of its suitability to the context is considered. Even Hermann is not satisfied with its appropriateness: "Non puto tamen laudandum esse Sophoclem quod κτήματα teneris virginum genis opposuit. Neque iniuria haeserunt critici in nomine minus apto; quanquam cavere debebant, ne librariis imputarent, quae poetae culpa fuit."

Is not this, however, rather a rash judgment in the case of such a poet as Sophocles?

Commentators seem all agreed that the general sense of the ode is to proclaim the *irresistible might of love*.

It is inserted here to prepare us for the catastrophe which is about to ensue, and to prevent us from looking on the tremendous effects of that passion in the case of *Antigone* and *Haemon* as incredible and exaggerated. We have here:

"The very ecstasy of love,
Whose violent property foredoes itself,
And leads the will to desperate undertakings,
As oft as any passion under heaven
That does afflict our natures."

But what pertinency belongs to κτήμασι = *divitiis* in that connexion?

The aim of Sophocles in this ode seems to us to be

to represent the youth and maiden as under the dominion of that mysterious elemental Nature-force, Love, Ἔρως, the sexual instinct. He reminds us that men and women, though moulded of finer-tempered clay, are yet *animals*, and once they have been fully drawn into the grasp of this Power they drift helplessly along like leaves before the whirlwind of passion. He does not wish to show merely that "all sorts and conditions of men," but that *man*, in common with all living things, birds, beasts, and fishes, is subject to this overwhelming influence. When this power has reached its full height he is no longer a thinking *human* being; no longer, strictly speaking, rational, but possessed: ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμνηε. From a being in this condition we may expect any extravagance.

As a typical example of the many references which might be quoted from the Greek poets to the irresistible power of love as an animal instinct, affecting man equally with the brute creation and with all living things, we may give the following, attributed by Stobaeus to Sophocles (*Frag.* 855, Ed. Nauck) :

ὦ παῖδες, ἦ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,
ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.
ἔστιν μὲν Ἀιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βία,
ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανίας . . .
εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτῷ γένει,
χέρσον δ' ἐνεστὶν ἐν τετρασκελεῖ γονῇ.
νωμᾷ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι τοῦ κείνης πτερόν
ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω.

How one wishes, in such a deadlock of arguments and authorities, for the opinion, not of a grammarian, but of a kindred spirit to Sophocles himself, a *poet*, competent, too, in other respects, who might, with one stroke of the flashing sword of genius, sever the Gordian knot which our clumsy fingers never could unloose. Such a poet, we think, has been found in Virgil.

We believe that Virgil's description of the effects of the sexual passion in animals was written, with this chorus from the *Antigone* present to his mind. It begins thus (Georg. iii. 242 sqq.):

"Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque
Et genus aequoreum *pecudes* pictaeque volucres
In furias ignemque ruunt: Amor omnibus idem."

It is natural that the respective poets should dwell on the effects of *Amor* from two different points of view, Virgil treating of it as influencing beasts, Sophocles mankind. But Virgil does not forget to allude to its sovereignty over man (l. 258 sqq.):

"Quid *iuvenis*, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
Durus amor? Nempe abruptis turbata procellis
Nocte natat caeca serus freta, etc."

Indeed it is possible that the episode of the *Iuvenis* may have been suggested by Sophocles:

φοιτᾷς δ' ὑπερπόντιος, κ. τ. λ.

cp. the scholiast's note on this passage: διότι καὶ τὰ πόρρω
θηρέυει ὁ ἑρῶν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ἄπεισι, κ. τ. λ.

If, on the other hand, we agree with the commentators who refer φοιτᾷς ὑπερπόντιος ἔν τ' ἀγρονόμοις αὐλαῖς to the effects of *Amor* on beasts and fishes, this interpretation would suit admirably Virgil's "Genus aequoreum *pecudes* pictaeque volucres" (l. 243).

Assuming, then, that Virgil had the *Antigone* in view when writing this passage, we can hardly doubt that his "*pecudes*" here is intended to correspond to Sophocles κτήμασι.

Should it, however, be affirmed that the resemblance between the two passages is accidental, we think that a further comparison will show this view to be untenable.

For, in a passage immediately preceding this description of the effects of *Amor*, there occurs a simile (in connexion with the episode of the Bull) (ll. 237 sqq.) :

"Fluctus uti, medio coepit cum albescere ponto,
Longius ex altoque sinum trahit, utque *volutus*
Ad terras, *immane sonat per saxa* neque ipso
Monte minor procumbit; at *ima exaestuat unda*
Vorticibus *nigramque* alte subjectat *harenam*."

which seems to us to be a close copy of one in the *Antigone* (ll. 585 sqq.) :

ὁμοιον ὥστε ποντίαις
οἶδμα δυσπνόοις ὄταν
Θρήσσαισιν ἔρεβος ὕφαλον ἐπιδράμῃ πνοαῖς,
κυλίνδει βυσσόθεν κελαινὰν
θῖνα καὶ δυσάνεμον
στόνῳ βρέμουσι δ' ἀντιπλήγες ἄκται.

The passage which is commonly quoted as parallel with this Virgilian simile is that from *Iliad* iv. 422 sqq. :

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεῖ κύμα θαλάσσης
ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὑπο κινήσαντος·
πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χερσὶ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
κυρτὸν ἐὼν κορυφούται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλως ἄχνην :

and we have no doubt that Virgil had both passages in his memory ; but we think that there are more points of resemblance to the simile from the *Antigone*, and that in particular the *κελαινὰν θῖνα* of Sophocles (a touch absent from the Homeric parallel), answering exactly to Virgil's *nigram harenam*, makes Virgil's indebtedness to the *Antigone* at least highly probable.

But if this be the case we must infer that Virgil wrote the whole description of *Amor* under the influence of and with special reference to the chorus "Ἐρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, and that there is therefore the strongest probability that

that the "pecudes" in the second line of his description of the effects of *Amor* is intended to represent the κτήμασι in the beginning of Sophocles' ode to Ἔρως.

If this be admitted, then it seems to us that Virgil must have been ignorant of or refused to recognize the interpretation "invadit opulentos"; that he believed that the object of Sophocles was to set forth the irresistible power of *Amor* over all creatures endued with animal life, and therefore over man, not as king, queen, millionaire, or pauper, but as an *animal*, of whom ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμνηται may be said with as much propriety as of beasts: In *furias* ignemque *ruunt*. *Amor omnibus idem*.

And if philological arguments and authorities are pretty evenly balanced, surely the judgment of a great poet may well outweigh that of many grammarians. May we not say:

Poeta locutus est: lis finita est?

A. A. BURD.

NOTES ON CICERO, AD ATTICUM XIII.

ON communicating to the readers of HERMATHENA these notes on the thirteenth book of the Letters to Atticus, I seize the opportunity of congratulating the Dublin editors of Cicero's correspondence on the completion of their arduous task. The book on which I am going to comment has, I fear, as little interest for the general reader as any other in the whole series. It is full of difficulties, which often depend for their solution on the patient study of dry private business. The utility of O. E. Schmidt's important work, "*Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*," is perhaps more apparent in connexion with this section of the Letters than elsewhere. He has determined, with a fair amount of certainty, the dates of many epistles, and this has helped to elucidate much that was obscure before. Although I am unable to accept some of his results, I propose to avoid, for the present, chronological questions almost entirely. Nor can I just now enter on the controversy (which affects very closely many passages in Att. XIII.) concerning the omissions in the Medicean MS. which are supplied by the other MSS. I am inclined to think that the truth lies between the views of Lehmann, the champion of the "C" tradition, and that of O. E. Schmidt, who fights on behalf of Med. And this is the opinion of C. F. W. Mueller, expressed in the preface to his new Teubner edition of the Letters to Atticus. Mueller's great mastery, not only of Cicero's works, but of Latin literature generally, his extraordinary patience, his sound judgment and self-restraint, give exceptional weight

to his opinion on all matters affecting the text. In the comments that follow I shall have frequently to refer to the Dublin editors, to Schmidt and to Mueller, and I beg leave, for brevity's sake, to denote them by the initials, TP, S, and M, respectively. In quoting extracts for comment, I give the readings of Med., unless otherwise stated, excepting in small points, such as spelling and punctuation.

1. § 3. Ego uero Peducaeu nostrum uehementer diligo: nam et quanti patrem feci totum in hunc ipsum per se aeque amo atque illum amaui.

If the words *et quanti* are sound, they indicate the original framework of the passage; *et* points to a second *et* and *quanti* to *tanti*. An old correction, *tanti* for *totum in*, with the insertion of *et* before *ipsum*, satisfies best the conditions. (Of course *tol'i* and *tâti* lie very close together.) But, even so, the passage is not cured. Cicero evidently meant to say that he loved Peducaeus both for his father's sake and for his own sake. Apparently some words, such as *uolui facere*, have dropped out after *hunc*.

2. §. 1. Oppio et Balbo epistulas deferri iubebis; et tamen Pisonem, sicubi, de auro.

TP say "*et tamen* can only mean 'in any case,' which is hardly applicable here." But *et tamen* often marks the sudden introduction of something which has little or no reference to what immediately precedes; in these cases it is equivalent to 'and by the way,' 'and now I think of it,' sometimes almost 'and, à propos de bottes.' The instance in Cato m. 16, on which I have commented in my edition, is not essentially different. As to Piso, he was undoubtedly (as S says) in some way connected with Cicero's endeavours to secure repayment of the large debt owed to him by Faberius, Caesar's secretary. If the seven mentions of Piso in the

letters of this time be read together (12, 5, 2; 13, 2, 1; 13, 4; 13, 11, 2; 13, 12, 4; 13, 16, 2; 13, 33, 2) no doubt of this can remain. But it is strange that Cicero here should speak of *aurum* rather than *pecunia* or *nummi*. In 12, 5, 2 (a passage supposed by S to have been written three days later), Piso, along with a certain Avius, is again connected with *aurum*. In 12, 6, 1 (referred by most edd. to the year 46), we read, "de Caelio uide, quaeso, ne quae lacuna sit in auro. Ego ista non noui. Sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis. Huc aurum si accedit . . ." Here the mention of *aurum* is natural enough; there is question of exchanging silver coin for gold, and there is no trouble in identifying Caelius with the banker of whom Cicero speaks in Att. 7, 3, 11. But in the other two passages there is a difficulty which S brings into prominence when he imposes upon *aurum* an impossible sense, that of "geldmarkt." There is no trace of any colloquial or slang use of *aurum* for *pecunia*. It seems, therefore, that, somehow or other, Cicero expected, in the course of the payment of the debt due by Faberius, to come into possession of coin which would need to be exchanged.

2. § 3. cras igitur auctio Peducaei. Cum poteris. Etsi impediet fortasse Faberius. Sed tamen cum licebit.

TP remark on *cum poteris, ergo* (the last word absent from Med., but necessary) "sc. emes"; after Boop. This is, I think, demonstrably wrong. The auction being on a particular day, there is no sense in saying 'buy when you can.' And the *auctio Peducaei* is nowhere connected with any intended purchase. The passages in which it is mentioned show clearly the only interest Cicero had in it, viz. that Atticus could not visit him till it was over; see especially 12, 50 cum poteris, id est cum Sexti auctioni operam dederis, reuises nos; and 12, 51 exspecto te, a Peducaeo utique ('at any rate after the sale of

Peducaeus⁷); 13, 30, 2 . . . auctionem biduum ab ea igitur, ut scribis (sc. uenies), et uelim confecto negotio Faberiano. We must therefore supply *uenies* in 2. § 3; cf. for the ellipse 4. § 2; 29. § 3; 31. § 1.

3. This is an exceedingly difficult letter. Cicero begins by referring to the *nomina* (debts due), which Faberius proposed to assign (*attribuere*) by way of discharging his indebtedness. Atticus refers the list of these *nomina* to Cicero for approval, and Cicero says that if Atticus is satisfied, then he is, and the reference was unnecessary. Then he goes on: "etenim Caelium non probas, plura non uis; utrumque laudo. His igitur utendum espraes aliquando factus esset in his quidem tabulis. A me igitur omnia." Faberius, then, had proposed, if Cicero wished it, to substitute the name of this Caelius for one or more of the names already on the list. The words *plura non uis* point to further proposals of the same kind; they may either mean, 'you do not want to consider any more alternatives,' or 'you do not wish to increase the number of debtors with whom we shall have to do.' The list as arranged is therefore to stand unaltered (*his igitur utendum*). S is clearly wrong in assuming that Caelius was actually placed on the list of *nomina* (p. 299). This affects, as we shall see, the explanation of a passage in ep. 33. Exactly what lies hidden under the corrupt words *espraes* . . . *tabulis* I do not attempt to divine. But in no case can *a me igitur omnia* be sound. Cicero desired to realise the money due from Faberius in order to buy some gardens on which he might build a shrine in honour of Tullia, and he again and again says that the gardens cannot be bought unless the money is realised. He cannot, therefore here have intended to declare a readiness to provide the cash out of his balances (*a me*). I suppose *a me* to be a corruption of *amo*. Cicero said, "Well, I am quite satisfied with all you have done." This is in complete accord with

the general tone of the letter. [S appreciated the difficulty, and imagined that *omnia* was a corruption of *cetera*, so that Cicero would pay part of the purchase-money out of what he had in hand. But the change assumed (from *cetera* to *omnia*) is highly improbable.] Reading the whole letter continuously, and comparing it with what we find elsewhere about the *negotium Faberianum* and the contemplated acquisition of the *horti*, we may say that the corrupt words *espraes . . . tabulis* conceal, probably, a mention of some circumstance or condition concerning the sale of the *horti*, which was favourable to Cicero's schemes. Beyond this it does not seem possible to go.

3. § 1. de Crispo et Mustela uidebis et uelim scire quae sit pars duorum.

Some of the earlier editors noted a difficulty about *duorum*, viz. that it is not used to signify 'the two' or 'these two' of persons already mentioned. I have never seen a precise parallel; and think it probable that *duorum* is corrupt for *eorum*, or that a pronoun (*eorum*, *illorum*, or *horum*) has fallen out after *duorum*; suggestions which have several times been made.

5. § 1. Sp. Mummiū putaram in decem legatis fuisse sed uidelicet etenim εὐλογον̄ fratri fuisse fuit enim ad Corinthum.

Many corrections have been put forward. I think *sed* should be ejected, and a comma placed at *uidelicet*, the sense being "I of course thought Sp. Mummius was one of the commission of ten." In many places, *sed* has arisen from the final syllable of an infinitive like *fuisse*; see e. g. the readings of GR in Fam. 5, 2, 4.

6. § 1. de aquae ductu probe fecisti. Columnarium uide ne nullum debeamus; quamquam mihi uideor audisse Camillo commutatam esse legem [*a* Cam. vulg.; *e* would be as good].

The aqueduct is doubtless the *aqua Crabra*, for the use of which Cicero paid a rent to the municipality of Tusculum

(Leg. agr. 3, 9). Among reasons given by S (p. 311) for supposing that this letter was not written at Tusculum is the improbability that if Cicero had been himself on the spot, he would have troubled his friend about such business. But he sometimes found it necessary to consult in reference to the *aqua* a legal specialist in such matters (see Balb. 45), who would naturally be found in Rome. In Fam. 16, 18, 3 the case is different; engineering operations were being carried out at Tusculum in connexion with the aqueduct, and Cicero naturally writes to some one there for information. The Camillus mentioned is probably the same man as Furius, to whom an allusion is made *in re simili* in Balb. 45. The word *columnarium* is closely related to Cicero's rights of property, since he speaks of having consulted about it a lawyer learned in the *ius praedictorium*. This 'pillar-tax' is commonly believed to have been imposed by Caesar's sumptuary law. The word occurs elsewhere only in Caes. B.C. 3, 32, 2, where he speaks of requisitions oppressively made upon the provincials by the Pompeians, and also mentions *ostiarium*, obviously the same as the *exactionem . . . ostiorum* with which we meet in Fam. 3, 8, 5. A tax on house-tiles is mentioned in a fragment of a letter of Cicero to Octavian, ap. Non. 268. These imposts resemble somewhat the window tax of Pitt's time. S, far less probably, supposes that the tax was to be levied on the value of the *columnae* which were to form part of the *fanum Tulliae*. But not even a site for the shrine had at this time been secured; nor is it certain that the *columnae* for which a contract had been settled (Att. 12, 19, 1) were ready; and even if they were, it is not likely that the tax was due (*debeamus*) on pillars lying at the mason's workshop.

6. § 4. hic Spurius qui nuper est.

Edd. generally add *mortuus*; S *defunctus*, but that is impossible in Cicero's text. M gives *decessit* for *est*; I

would rather substitute *periit*, supposing the first syllable to have been lost, from its identity with the last syllable of *nuper*.

6. § 4. operam tuam multam qui et haec cures et mea expeditas et sis in tuis multo minus diligens quam in meis.

So Med. Long ago M proposed to banish the exclamatory accusative (without interjection) from Cicero's writings, and he found a convert in Lehmann (de Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis, p. 203 sq.). In our passage M, having first conjectured *operam tuam multum amo*, now reads *O operam tuam multam*, on Lehmann's advice. But in his own text of Att. 9, 6, 6 and of Fam. 14, 1, 1 he has allowed *me miserum!* to pass without comment; yet *hominem nequam!* is not allowed in Att. 15, 13, 3; and there are similar inconsistencies in other parts of the text of Cicero, as in Fin. 2, 96; Phil. 11, 13. Lehmann broadly and somewhat rashly states that wherever we have good evidence for Cicero's text the interjection is inserted. I wish to call attention to some passages which bear indirect and therefore important testimony to the existence of the independent exclamatory accusative. In Fin. 2, 96 all MSS. present *ecce miserum hominem*; but as Cicero does not use *ecce* with accus., it appears to have been stuffed in to help out what seemed to the scribes to be an incomplete construction. Then take Verr. 1, 87 o di immortales incredibilem singularemque audaciam; and S. Rosc. 77 o di immortales rem miseram et calamitosam. In these two sentences it seems unnatural to make a pause at *o*, and to disconnect the word from *di*, particularly as *o di immortales* is a common expression. In a dozen passages or so which Lehmann enumerates, Med. omits the interjection, which CZW insert. Lehmann gives an exceedingly odd reason for not supposing that Cratander could have inserted the *o*: "nisi forte quis credit Cratandrum eadem atque Muellerum studia in Ciceronis genere dicendi

posuisse." But Fin. 2, 96, to which I have referred, affords an object-lesson as to the mode in which the insertion may have come about. On the other hand, Med. had no temptation to drop the interjection, thereby producing what was in any case an unusual form of expression. The use of the simple accusative was no doubt tending to die out in Cicero's time. But there is in one passage of Cicero, Verr. 5, 62, a still rarer and more archaic use of the exclamatory accus., with *nē* attached, which edd. leave untouched. I may note that one of the passages quoted by Lehmann and M should be removed from the discussion. It is Att. 13, 22, 2 de Marcello scripserat ad me Cassius τὰ κατὰ μέρος *rem* acerbam. Here *rem* is clearly an appositional accusative, for which see Madvig on Fin. 2, 75 (but his list of examples from Cicero is not complete). In CZW the interjection is foisted in because the construction is not understood.

I now consider the last part of the sentence which I have quoted. The secondary MSS. (as I must call them, *pace Lehmanni*) give *non* before *multo*, and this is accepted by Lehmann and M. To my mind, the insertion ruins the passage. If the *non* be absent, Cicero pays his friend an open and extravagant but withal characteristic compliment: "You pay much less close heed to your own affairs than you do to mine." With *non*, the compliment is curiously indirect and halting, and unlike the writer. "You are pretty nearly as careful about your own business as about mine." I need not speak of the notorious carelessness with which even the best of scribes inserted and omitted the word *non* in copying MSS. In the words *et haec cures et mea expeditas* there appears to be a slight flaw; as *haec* are included in *mea*, it seems that *omnia* (^a*o* or *oīa*) has been lost after *mea*. Before leaving this letter I should like to say that the view of S (abandoned afterwards) that

certain historical information for which Cicero asks, was required for the second edition of the *Academica*, and was used in the lost portion of that edition, is utterly impossible.

7. § 2. nisi equidem et (*ei* vulg.) nuntiari te quoad potuisses expectasse eius aduentum.

Edd. generally write *iussi*; TP suggest *misi*, but it is hard to see what sense this would yield, unless *nuntiari* were omitted or changed to *nuntiaui* (keeping *et*), or to *nuntium* (omitting *et*). [In 13, 32, 2 nearly all MSS. have *iussi* where *misi* is necessary.]

8. Epitomen Bruti Caelianorum uelim mihi mittas et a Philoxeno Παναγιότῳ περὶ πρηνολίας.

Many edd. (including TP) indicate an ellipse before *a Ph.*, such as that of *sumas*. But *a Ph.* depends directly on *mittas*; the phrase is no more elliptic than *dare pecuniam ab aliquo*, *amare a lenone* and the like. It is true that we cannot render into English without supplying something; but that is another matter.

9. § 2. ad quos dies rediturus sim, scribam.

What reason can there be for the plural *dies*? Probably Cicero wrote *quo die*, which was accidentally written *quos dies*; the insertion of the preposition followed naturally.

10. § 1. sed illud παρὰ τὴν ἰστορίαν, tu praesertim : me relicum consularem. Quid? tibi Servius quid uidetur?

Cicero had just received a letter from Atticus in which, referring to the assassination of Marcellus, he described Cicero as *relicum consularem*. TP take this to mean that Atticus supposed Cicero to be now the last surviving ex-consul, and that he is here reminded of the existence of Servius Sulpicius. But the list of ex-consuls known to have been alive at the moment in question is a long one, and additions would have to be made to it were we in possession

of full information touching the career of all ex-consuls belonging to the period. I agree with TP in thinking that *consularem* cannot mean "an ex-consul worthy of the name"; there are no real parallels for this use, and it is not justified by such expressions as *consulare dictum*. I can but suppose that Cicero, as in a hundred other places, has only quoted a portion of what Atticus wrote: he must have described Cicero as the last survivor of some limited set or circle of ex-consuls. A hint as to the nature of the limitation is afforded by the phrase *Servius quid uidetur?* which implies some judgment affecting character or talent. Cicero would never have used it, had he merely intended to call attention to the fact that Servius was a past consul. Perhaps Atticus wrote something like this: "you are now the only ex-consul from whom the country has anything to expect." The words which follow point to the contemplated exercise of public functions: "quamquam hoc nullam ad partem ualet scilicet, mihi praesertim, qui non minus bene actum cum illis putem; quid enim sumus aut quid esse possumus? domine an foris?" The interpretation here given will be found to accord excellently with many references to Servius and the *consulares* elsewhere; see especially Fam. 10, 28, 3; 12, 4, 1; 12, 5, 2 and 3; Phil. 8, 20. The words *hoc . . . ualet* seem to mean, "the prospect you put before me of public service has no importance either for good or for evil"; cf. Fin. 4, 4 *ad meliorem partem differunt*.

10. § 2. *ad Dolabellam, ut scribis, ita puto faciendum, κοινότερα quaedam et πολιτικότερα.*

In his discussion on the work which Cicero contemplated dedicating to Dolabella, S. assumes that its theme would be directed against despotism. It would be a strange compliment to a leading Caesarian to dedicate to him such a treatise. The work was more probably intended to contain hints towards the reorganisation of the Roman state

which was believed, as we see in the *orationes Caesarianae* and in other quarters, to be near at hand.

12. § 3. biennium praeteriit cum ille Καλλιπιδης assiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit, ego autem me parabam ad id quod ille mihi misisset.

M changes *processerit* to *processerat*, saying "*processerat* scr. propter id quod sequitur, *parabat* (an error for *parabam*), nam quod codd. et edd. habent, *processerit*, nullo modo ferri posse mihi uidetur." But is it not unnatural and unnecessary to assume that *parabam* was meant to depend on *cum*? And if *processerat* be read, is not *praeterierat* a consequential change? The *cum*-clause here is one of those which Prof. W. C. Hale has well compared with the consecutive relative clauses; see his "Cum constructions," p. 142; many examples might be added to his lists, as e.g. Att. 15, 13, 1 sed quando illum diem cum tu edendum putes?

12. § 3. nunc illam περὶ τελῶν σύνταξιν, sane mihi probatam, Bruto ut tibi placuit, despondimus, idque eum non nolle mihi scripsisti.

So Med.; the "codices Bosii" insert *tu* before *eum*. This has all the appearance of a deliberate insertion to avoid an obvious awkwardness in the phrasing. It seems to me that the clause *ut tibi placuit* has got out of position, and should come after *despondimus*; the words *idque . . . scripsisti* are then epexegetic (*more Tulliano*) of *ut tibi placuit*, and *tu* is not needed.

13. § 1. totam Academiam . . . ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor: grandiores sunt omnino quam erant illi sed tamen multa detracta.

And later—

Multo tamen haec erunt splendidiora breuiora meliora.

Cicero is writing about the second edition of his *Academia*. The dates assigned by S and some other scholars to

this letter and others near it in time require us to believe that the transformation of the *Academica* was completed in the space of a day. To anyone who has carefully examined the remains of the two editions, this conclusion must appear incredible. Another solution of the problem of dates must be found, but that is a matter on which I cannot enlarge here. The contrast between *grandiores* and *breuiora* has caused edd. some trouble. TP render the former word by 'finer'; but the proximity of *libris* in the previous sentence, and the form of the sentence *omnino . . . sed tamen*, so that *multa detracta* and *grandiores* are correlated, forbid us to give the word any but a literal sense. There is no real contradiction between *breuiora* and *grandiores*; the former means 'more pithy,' 'more terse' and not 'less bulky'; see my ed. of the *Academica*, p. 35n. Cicero continues (speaking of Varro): "tu autem mihi peruelim scribas, qui intellexeris illum uelle; illud uero utique scire cupio quem intellexeris ab eo ζηλοῦν πείσθαι, nisi forte Brutum: id hercle restabat!" We are told by Cicero that he felt bound to dedicate to Brutus the *De Finibus*, because Brutus had dedicated a philosophical work to him. On the other hand (13, 12, 3), Varro had promised Cicero an important dedication, which, after two years, was not forthcoming. His jealousy of Brutus therefore was unreasonable. In 13, 18 it is said that Varro surely cannot be jealous of Hortensius (now dead), or of the earlier heroes who appeared in the *De Republica*. The phrase *id enim restabat* is an extravagant, impatient expression, applied to one of whom no good has been expected: 'that was left for him to do' means no more than 'he is just the fellow to do it'; 'it is only what I might have expected.' Cf. Quinct. 33 *illud etiam restiterat, quod hesterno die fecerunt, ut te in ius educerent*, 'they did just what might have been expected after all that went before.' Also Phil. 11, 22 *at uero ita decernunt "ut liberato Bruto"*; *id enim restabat, "ut relicto, deserto,*

prodito." The decree which Cicero was opposing directed that after Decimus Brutus had been freed from siege at Mutina, the two consuls should draw lots for the provinces of Asia and Syria, and wage war against Dolabella. Cicero was bitterly opposed to this arrangement, which left Cassius out in the cold, and he here sarcastically says, "they might have been expected to say, 'when Brutus has been thrown over, abandoned, and betrayed.'" In passages like these a petulant and malicious tinge is given to an ordinary phrase; cf. Att. 8, 7, 1 *unum etiam restat amico nostro ad omne dedecus, ut Domitio non subueniat*. See also Boot's *n*.

13. § 1. *tu illam iacturam feres aequo animo quod illa quae habes de Academicis frustra descripta sunt*.

Whether we place a comma before or after the words *de Academicis*, they yield but an awkward sense; in the one case, 'the copies of the A. which you possess'; in the other, 'the books which you possess, copied from the A.' The words *de Academicis* are absolutely not wanted, and seem to me to have originally formed a marginal description of the main subject of the letter, and so to have crept into the text.

15. *ipse quid scriberem non habebam*.

So Med.; and the form *non habeo quid scribam* being just as good as *non habeo quod scribam*, the reading may well be kept. *Non defuturum quid scriberem* below should probably be changed.

16. § 1. *modo fuit Catuli . . . deinde . . .*

The words describe the fate of the *Academica*. The reason given by S for preferring *modo* of Med. to *primo* of C is fanciful, even fantastic; he says it chimes in better with the changeability of the Academic doctrine, and he refers to 13, 25, 3 *modo huc, modo illuc*. Here *primo* is decidedly better; it would easily pass to *modo* when contracted.

19. § 3. eos confeci et absolui nescio quam bene, sed ita accurate ut nihil possit supra, Academicam omnem quaestionem libris quattuor.

The word *eos* is doubly unsatisfactory; on the one hand, *libros* has to be supplied, though that word is not found in the preceding part of the letter, nor anything like it; on the other, there is a harsh apposition between *eos* and *quaestionem*. If the word is removed the sentence runs smoothly; it may owe its origin to *eis*, two or three lines lower down.

19. § 5. easque partes ut non sim consecutus ut mea causa sit superior.

The reading here is of course imperfect. Cicero says that in the second edition of the *Academica* he has taken care that the doctrines advocated by himself in the dialogue (those of Philo) should not seem to triumph over those of Antiochus championed by Varro. Most edd. insert some verb to govern *partes*; I would rather read *eaeque sunt partes*, regarding the *s* of *eas* as a remnant of a contraction for *sunt*; cf. just above, *eae personae sunt ut*.

20. This letter teems with difficulties, and it is hard to comment on it without quoting it in its entirety. We first have mention of the *oratio Ligariana*, and a proposal to add something to it; the construction *addere ad* occurs, and is not so rare as Boot ("insolentior constructio") and TP imply (about twenty-five examples in Merguet's two lexica). Then (in reference to the same speech) we have "theatrum sane bellum habuisti." The sense afforded by this ('you certainly had a fine audience when you read the speech to your invited friends') is so satisfactory that it is hard to see any ground for changes, such as those suggested by Boot (*habui*) and TP (*habui isti*); and many others. The use of *theatrum* assumed by my rendering is entirely of a piece with its employment in many other places, both in

Cicero's writings and elsewhere; so e.g. Quint. 1, 2, 9, *optimus quisque praeceptor frequentia gaudet ac maiore se theatro dignum putat*. See also my *n.* on Lael. 97. To refer *theatrum* to an opportunity afforded to Cicero of introducing a bit of scandal into the published version of the *pro Ligario*, as suggested by TP, reading *habui*, seems much less natural, and less like Cicero's ordinary usage. Nearly all that remains of the letter is taken up by an obscure dispute between Atticus and Cicero about fame; this I must quote, long as it is. "Fratrem credo a te esse conuentum; scire igitur studeo quid egeris. De fama nihil sane laboro, etsi scripseram ad te tunc stulte 'nihil melius,' curandum enim non est. Atque hoc 'in omni uita sua quemque a recte conscientia trauersum unguem non oportet discedere' uiden quam φιλοσόφως? An tu nos frustra existimas haec in manibus habere? δεδῆχθαι te nollem quod nihil erat; redeo enim rursus eodem; quidquamne me putas curare in toto nisi ut ei ne desim? Id ago scilicet (Med. *agnosci licet*) ut iudicia uidear tenere; μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς: uellem tam domestica ferre possem quam ista contemnere. Putas autem me uoluisse aliquid quod perfectum non sit. Non licet scilicet sententiam suam, sed tamen quae tum acta sunt non possum non probare et tamen non curare pulcre possum, sicuti facio."

No one who reads carefully the letters to Atticus from the time of Tullia's death onwards, for the purpose of comparing them with this passage, can be in doubt about its *general* drift. Atticus many times reminded his friend of his great past, and adjured him to come forth from his seclusion and take part in public life; spurring him on thereto by reporting adverse comments which had reached his ears. Some such were abroad now, as δεδῆχθαι shows. Whether they referred to Cicero's seclusion only, or to other matters also, is hard to determine; but clearly the seclusion was the main subject of complaint, or we

should not find Atticus appealing to the glorious consulship, as often before, nor Cicero opposing consciousness of rectitude to glory in a high-flown sentence. The allusion in the words *quae tum acta sunt*, is almost certainly to the time of Catiline. I do not think it worth while to discuss the hypotheses of S that they refer to the marriage of Brutus with Porcia, and to some objections supposed to have been taken to Cicero's conduct in regard to that event. Fame in general is obviously the main theme of the passage. It is not easy to read the sentences from *de fama* to *habere*, and to suppose that they deal with any restricted and particular question, such as that of Cicero's friendliness towards Caesar or his behaviour to Brutus. I cannot believe that the name of some person is hidden under the reading *in toto*, as so many scholars have supposed. Rather it is a corruption of *id totum* (a common phrase with Cicero); 'the whole business of ambition.' What then, it may be asked, of *ut ei ne desim*, which so many edd. have imagined to point to some special person? In answer, I would refer *ei* back to *id totum*, and would interpret the passage in the light of what follows. Cicero approves what he did aforetime, and will not say anything which would be traitorous to his past (*desim*), but he has done with ambition. Atticus had urged that at one time Cicero had expressed his intention of carrying his career beyond the point at which he now abandons it. This I take to be the sense of the words *putas . . . non sit*, which seem to me to be perfectly sound; but a full stop, not a note of interrogation, should be placed at the end of the sentence. Now as to the sentence beginning *id ago scilicet*. *Scilicet* is ironical, both here and lower down; "it is supposed forsooth that I care to retain (this is what *tenere* means, not 'win') my supremacy in the courts." I acquiesce in the view of TP that *iudicia* does not here, in this context, mean 'men's good opinions of me'; but I cannot

follow them in thinking the sense to be in itself impossible; cf. for instance 11, 7, 3 *perdere bonorum iudicium*. So *ista* refers to forensic distinction. Passing to the last sentence, I must mention the ingenious arrangement of TP, who dispense with the device of other editors (to insert a verb in the infinitive such as *mutare* to govern *sententiam*), and print thus: *non licet sententiam suam—sed tamen quae tum acta sunt, non possum non—probare*, etc. Clever as this is, I do not find it satisfactory. The rendering given is "One ought not, of course, to express approbation of one's own principles, but of my then career, I cannot but do so." There could be no offence in expressing approbation, pure and simple, of one's principles, but only in backing them in some unpleasant way, not indicated at all by *probare*, which is rather to entertain persuasion that one is right, than to proclaim it. It is necessary, I think, to insert *mutare*, or something like it; perhaps *abicere* has fallen out after *scilicet*. Before leaving this letter, there are some small points of which I desire to speak. (1) It is hard to get on without adding *eo*, with most editors, before or after *nollem*, as antecedent to *quod*, but M omits it. (2) As to *tunc stulte*, there is strong reason for supposing that Cicero did not write *tunc* before consonants; here and in a good many other places it seems to have sprung from *tum quidem*, under the influence of contractions. (3) For *atque* before *hoc* TP follow Boot in writing *atqui*. Neither here nor in 31, 3 nor in many other places where the change has been made by edd., does it seem to be necessary. Cicero often chooses to link a sentence loosely to the preceding sentence by a copulative conjunction, when he might have indicated the logical relation between the two by *atqui*. While the context *may* point decisively to one or the other particle, there are many passages, such as this, in which Cicero could have written either. (4) Possibly *et* before *tamen non curare* is corrupted from *haec*

('present matters') which was in contrast with *quae tum acta sunt*; the change is one which has often taken place in MSS. If this be not accepted, an object for *curare* with the same sense as that which I have given to *haec*, must be supplied from the context. S changes *tamen* after *et* to *famam*, with Albrecht.

21. § 2. quid possum de Torquato, nisi aliquid a Dolabella? Quod simul ac, continuo scietis.

In addition to the awkward ellipse, there is the suspicious occurrence of *ac* before a guttural. Many changes have been proposed; I suggest that *uenerit* has been lost after *ac*, possibly from its similarity to *uenerunt* just below.

21. § 4. Varroni quidem quae scripsi te auctore . . . propero mittere.

Edd. place a comma after *auctore*; it should be put before *te*. Cicero did not write the *Academica* and *De Finibus* at the instigation of Atticus, but dedicated them to Varro and Brutus respectively on the advice of his friend. So just above: Bruto, cui te auctore προσφωνῶ.

21. § 7. de Attica optime, quod leuius ac lenius et quod fert εὐκόλως.

This appears to be the reading of Med., and is rightly kept by TP as against *leuius ac leuius* in many editions (M included); cf. Catull. 84, 8 audibant eadem haec leniter ac leuiter.

22. § 4. attributos quod appellas, ualde probe.

M after Wölfflin writes *probo* (as Boot and others had done) for the reason that, though *ualde* is attached to many adverbs, an actual example of *ualdeprobe* is not to hand. There is no force in the reason; if the principle which it implies were consistently carried out, large textual changes would result.

22. § 4. de Bruto nostro perodiosum, sed uita fert. Mulieres autem uix satis humane, quae inimico animo ferant, cum utraque officio pareat.

Here *humane*, not *humanae* (as in many edd.) is clearly right. It is not easy to understand why M, following Stangl, should have changed *inimico* to *iniquo*. It is true indeed that MSS. confuse these two words, but *amicus animus*, *inimicus animus* are common phrases; and if the ladies can be said to have acted *uix humane*, they may surely be said to have acted in an unfriendly spirit. Orelli, followed by most recent edd., adds *in* before *utraque*, so that Brutus becomes subject to *pareat*. The correction is hardly necessary; *cum* is 'although'; without actual breach of duty, the ladies showed their dislike for the marriage of Brutus with Porcia. The close relations of Servilia with Caesar account for this. I may here note that O. E. Schmidt seems to make a great deal too much of the situation created by this marriage. He assumes that the public (soon to be undeceived) regarded it as an advance made by Brutus to the Republican party, and that Cicero incurred odium among Republicans by his cool treatment of Brutus at the time. I can find no shred of real evidence for these assumptions. There is a curious passage in 11, § 1, written at a time when Brutus and Cicero were living near each other at Tusculum. Cicero writes that Brutus desired to see him every day, and that, as he could not go to visit his friend at his house, he thought it best to leave Tusculum and free Brutus from 'the burden of paying his respects' (*onus obseruantiae*). In a later letter another reason comes out (23, 1), viz. that the temperaments of the two made close daily intercourse (*συμβίωσις*) undesirable. Apparently the feeling existed on the side of Cicero, not on that of Brutus; and indeed Brutus probably had about him some of the ἀπειραντολογία ἀήδης (12 ep. 9) which made Cicero shun the company of

L. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Octavian. But all the time complete politeness and consideration governed the relations of the two, and there is nothing to show that the marriage with Porcia affected them in any way. The obstacle to Cicero's visiting Brutus when the two were at Tusculum (11, 1) is mysterious; but as Brutus was willing nevertheless to continue his daily calls at Cicero's house, he at least did not feel offended.

22. § 4. *lucum* (*locum* Med.) *hominibus* non sane probo quod est desertior sed habet εὐλογία.

The *lucus* can be no other than that in the *horti Scapulari*, which Cicero desired to purchase. S proposes *Othonis* for *hominibus*; but Otho was only one of the *coheredes* who owned the property, and it is not likely that the *lucus* would be called his. Another reason against the emendation is that Otho was keen to buy the *lucus* for himself, as we see from 29, 2; 31, 4, and 12, 47, 2. The word *hominibus* is, I think, a corruption of *omnino*, which was correlated with *sed*: 'I confess . . . but.' A little further on TP suggest a brilliant emendation; for *coheredes a quis* (vulg. *quibus*) *sine te opprimi militia est alteris iam litteris nihil ad me de Attica*, they write *coh. a quibus sine tua opprimi militia! Est* etc. This is based on Att. 15, 26, 4, and is certainly right in its main features. But *est . . . ad me* can hardly stand; it is hardly to be justified by passages such as Tusc. 4, 4; Ad Brut. 1, 9, 3. *Est* may have intruded itself or may have come from *et*; or perhaps *litteris ad me* should be read.

23. § 3. *mea mandata, ut scribis, explica; quamquam ista retentione omnis ait uti Trebatius; quid tu istos putas? nosti domum.*

Edd. elucidate *retentione* from Suet. Iul. 42. All attempts to explain *domum* have failed; no sense is to be extr^{acted} from its literal meaning; and it cannot mean

'gang,' like *genere toto* in Att. 14, 10, 2 (of the Caesarians, who are pointed to by *istos*, as often, *e.g.* Att. 16, 11, 5), since the application of the word to a school of philosophers, which comes nearest to the supposed use here, is still too remote. No parallel is afforded by such a passage as Fam. 13, 4, 6, *eum tibi sic commendo ut unum ex nostra domo*. I would read *dominum*, i.e. Caesar: "you know their master; like master, like man; plunderers all." Cicero then goes on to say that he cares little for his property: "*magis enim doleo me non habere cui tradam quam habere qui utar*." As to *tradam*, it has often been supposed to indicate the testamentary disposition of the property on Cicero's death; Tullia was dead, young Cicero unsatisfactory. But it is a strange expression to employ in the circumstances; and it is inconceivable that Cicero should have contemplated disinheriting his son. What he intends to say is that he would be ready to cede his property, had he a son on the spot fit to take immediate charge. Then most edd. insert *laetar* or *gaudeo* after *utar*. This TP describe as 'a rash interference with the text,' a description which I cannot accept, seeing how many admitted *lacunae* there are in these letters, and how easily *laetar*, at least, would drop out after *utar*. TP themselves add *non* in front of *habere*, a change not very much easier. But the sense afforded is in both cases unsatisfactory; M, I see, regards the rendering of *non habere qui utar* by 'not having command of ready money now' as unacceptable; so, I confess, do I. The sense at which S seems to have been aiming in his reading *habere quin utar*, 'to hold my property without enjoying it,' is apparently the right one; but the Latinity of his lection is unsound. To me Cicero seems to have written *quo non utar*.

23. § 5. *quare da te in sermonem et perseca et confice excita compella loquere, ut te cum illo Scaeva loqui putes, nec existimes eos qui non debita consecrari soleant, quod debeatur remissuros.*

The general purport of this passage may easily be

gathered from the 'locus plane gemellus' in 14, 10, 2: redeo ad Tebassos, Scaeuos, Frangones . . . Pacis isti scilicet amatores et non latrocini auctores. At ego cum tibi de Curtilio scripsi Sextilianoque fundo, scripsi de Censorino, de Messala, de Planco, de Postumo, de genere toto. Cicero was usually tolerant of the Caesarians, but he had moments of bitterness in which he described them as robbers all of one pattern, high and low, leaders and centurions alike. It is certain, therefore, that the corruption *compella* hides *cum* with the name of some person high in Caesar's service: one also who was in some way mixed up with Cicero's monetary concerns. S suggests *Caelio*, a suggestion condemned by TP as 'more than rash.' If this judgment proceeds on palæographical grounds, I can only say that the conditions of the problem point to some great distortion of the original reading. But there are other objections to the proposal. In the first place, it is held by S that the Caelius of 12, ep. 5a and 13, 3, 1, and 13, 33, 2, whom he wishes to bring into the text, is a Caelius otherwise unknown; if so, he is out of court on the present occasion. Again, the reason why S wishes to bring him in here is a mistaken one; he supposes that this Caelius was among the *nomina* handed over by Faberius to Cicero. But I have shown above that the Caelius mentioned in 13, 3, 1 was never placed among these *nomina*. Nor can the Caelius who appears in 13, 33, 2 have been on the list. He is mentioned along with Vergilius, one of the *coheredes* who held the *horti Scapulani*. It is feared that this man may 'be in Africa' when he is wanted, 'like Caelius': a very vague expression from which no precise inference can be drawn. I think that if the names of prominent Caesarians be considered, there is only one that is suitable to this passage. We must read *Balbo* for *pella*. Atticus held conference with Balbus touching the debt owed by Faberius: see 12, 47, 1, Faberianum nomen . . . de quo nihil nocuerit si aliquid cum Balbo eris locutus; also 12,

29, 2 and 13, 33, 1. The urgency of the language (*per-seca et confice*) is similar to that which occurs in other letters where the *negotium Faberianum* and the *horti Scapulani* are in question; so 12, 40, 4 tu enitare; 13, 32, 1 tu uero age . . . urge insta perfice; 31, 4 confice, mi Attice, istam rem. I think no one who has spent even an hour or two in examining closely the readings of the MSS. of the Letters will be inclined to ask the question how so common a name as that of *Balbus* could undergo such a transformation. It is hard to put faith in *perseca*; 'dissect the matter' seems entirely out of place here. Formerly I wished to read *persequere*, *persequi rem* being an ordinary phrase. Now it seems to me likely that Cicero wrote *perfice*, *confice*, and that *perseca* is due to the very common confusion between *s* and *f*. The old correction of *excita* to *et ita* seems still the best.

30. § 3. sicunde potes eruere qui decem legati Mummio fuerint (Med. *fuerunt*).

Erue vulg.; *erues* S; rather *erueris*.

Ib. uolo aliquem Olympia aut ubi uisum πολιτικὸν σύλλογον more Dicaearchi familiaris tui.

T P after S and Lambinus give Ὀλυμπίασι *aut ubi uis habitum*; other alterations much further away from the reading of Med. have been proposed. It is only needful to add one letter, writing *Olympiae*; *habitus* is quite unnecessary, looking to the ellipses found in these Letters. The clause *aut ubi uisum* (sc. *erit*) is of a type which is very common in Cicero. So e.g. 13, 14, 1 uel biduum uel triduum uel ut uidebitur; Phil. 9, 17, in campo Esquilino, seu quo in loco uidebitur; Att. 13, 28, 3 nunc opto casum illum quem tum timebam, uel quem libebit.

31. § 1. quoniam etiamdum abes.

It is exceedingly unlikely that Cicero used *etiamdum*, which S and T P pass without comment, and *etiamnum*,

which many edd. (including M) substitute for it, is confined to authors of a much later date. The latter is still given by M in Fam. 13, 15, 2, where Med. has *etiam num.* Doubtless the original reading both there and here was *etiam nunc.* The confusion of *d* and *n* is not unknown in MSS.; so in Ovid., *Her.* 16, 85.

32. § 3. Torquatus Romae est; iussi ut tibi daretur. Catulum et Lucullum, ut opinor, antea; his libris noua prooemia sunt addita quibus eorum uterque laudatur; eas litteras uolo habeas, et sunt quaedam alia.

TP keep *iussi*; but the *misi* of the 'codices Bosii' seems to be necessary. The word *litteras* has been attacked, and sometimes emended. If correction were needed, I should prefer *ea sine lituris* to any that I have seen; but it can be proved that the text is sound. TP say, "We do not think it has been shown that *litteras* can be used as a synonym for *libros*, *opera*." Not as a synonym, if the word be taken in its very strictest application; for there is just the amount of difference between *litterae* and *libri* that exists in English between 'writings' and 'books.' But that the two Latin words could be applied to the same composition does not admit of question. In Brut. 13 a work of Atticus is first called *litterae*, then *liber*. Compare, too, Brut. 19: iam pridem conticuerunt tuae litterae; nam ut illos de re publica libros edidisti, nihil a te postea accepimus. And in Brut. 205, speaking of Varro's works on antiquities and literary history, Cicero says:—"Quam scientiam . . . pluribus et inlustrioribus litteris explicauit." Can it be doubted that these works might equally well have been indicated by *libris*, or, again, that Cicero could have written *libris* in Diu. 2, 5, ut Graecis de philosophia litteris non egeant? So, too, in Phil. 2, 20. And in De Or. 1, 192, where *litterae* and *uolumina* are mentioned, together, and in Att. 9, 10, 2, where *libri* and *litterae* stand

side by side, no distinction exists excepting the very slight one which I have indicated above. See, too, a transition from *litteris* to *libris* in Fam. 7, 19 (cf. Mur. 28) ; and from *scriptis* to *litterarum*, ib. 15, 4, 12 (cf. Off. 2, 3, and Arch. 14). [It is surprising that Madvig should have hesitated, even slightly, about the correctness of Fin. 1, 12, Brutus . . . philosophiam Latinis litteris persequitur, where some edd. had proposed *libris*.] In the passage which we are discussing there was a reason for *litteras*. Cicero was thinking principally of the new *proemia*, so that *libros* was unsuitable. I may add that in Att. 1, 14, 3, *meis omnibus litteris* (a greatly disputed passage), the sense is 'all my writings.' I fail to see that any difficulty is caused by the addition of *omnibus* to *meis litteris* (see the *n.* in TP).

32. § 2. διὰ σημείων :

"in shorthand ;" see *σημειογράφος* in Liddell and Scott.

33. § 2. cum Balbo autem puto te aliquid fecisse H. in Capitolio.

Boot ingeniously suggested that H was a scribe's sign, meaning *hic incipit alia epistula*. I think H here is a shortening of *hic* ; when words had been accidentally omitted, the scribe would put them on the margin with *hic* or *h.* or *h.p.* (*hic ponas*) in front of them, a mark being set at the place in the text to which he referred. This often led to the words being inserted, along with the sign-post (*hic* or the like) in the text, at the wrong place, when the MS. was copied. So *ἔπειτα* was sometimes prefixed to omitted words when they were written on the margin of Greek MSS., with similar results ; see the preface to Usener's "Epicurea," p. xxv. The words *in Capitolio* appear to belong to a passage just above : *semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relatam* ? and should be placed in the text after *relatam*. Probably the *professio* had to be made at the *tabularium*, on the edge of the Capitol.

33. § 3. tu de Antiocho scire poteris.

Probably *Antaeo* should be written, from ep. 44.

33. § 4. de Varrone loquebamur: lupus in fabula; uenit enim ad me et quidem id temporis ut retinendus esset, sed ego ita egi ut non scinderem paenulam, memini enim tuum et multi erant nosque imparati.

Edd. generally refer *tuum*, 'your saying,' to what follows; it bears, I think, rather on *scinderem paenulam*, a striking expression, and much more likely to be remembered and quoted. The words *nos . . . imparati* are Cicero's own, and were added because *loquebamur* above was indefinite, and did not indicate anything about the number of the company. But *et* is wrong; *etenim* should be read. The change from *memini* to *memineram*, which has been favoured by some scholars, is not needful; *memini* is 'I always remember' (in such circumstances).

34. efficias . . . ut cum Publio me paene absente conficias.

TP favour the conjecture of Peerlkamp, *praesente absente*: but other letters prove Cicero's anxiety that this business should be concluded in his absence; especially ep. 47 *b* me enim absente omnia cum illis transigi malo. The view, therefore, of many edd. that *paene* has sprung from *apsente* and should be ejected, is correct.

35, 36. § 2. fortasse litterae meae te retardarunt; si eas nondum legeras cum has proximas scripsisti.

For *si* M gives *nisi* without explanation. It is hardly likely that Cicero here used *nisi* in the elliptical Plautine sense of 'only.' If not, *nisi* implies a doubt whether Atticus had or had not read the letter; but the epistle of Atticus could not have left this point in doubt. The reading *scilicet* ('of course'), proposed by S, is better; *scilicet* was constantly contracted in MSS., and so confused with *si* and other words.

37. § 2. nihil noui sane nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse, omnibus eum locis facere maximeque in conuiuiis, cum multa de me, tum (Med. *mecum*) redire ad patrem . . .

Accepting *furere* (F) for *facere*, I would put a semicolon at *conuiuiis*, removing *cum*, which seems to have arisen from an untimely reminiscence on the part of some scribe of the construction *cum . . . tum*.

37. § 3. eam (sc. laudationem Porciae) . . . curabis, si modo mittetur, isto modo mittendam Domitio et Bruto.

Atticus had made corrections in the *laudatio*; and *isto modo* is taken by TP to refer to this. Rather *modo* after *isto* is spurious, and sprang up under the influence of the preceding *modo*, because the local adverb *isto* was misunderstood; *isto* is 'to the place you wot of.'

37. § 4. de gladiatoribus, de ceteris, quae scribis ἀνεμοφόρητα, facies me cotidie certiores.

None of the parallels produced to justify *quae scribis ἀν.* here and *ex eis quae scripsimus tanta* in 1, 18, 8 (not even those given by Wesenberg, Em. p. 8) have convinced me. This passage does not at all resemble those in which, by a very common usage, an antecedent is thrown into a relative clause. Nor are they like such a passage as Livy, 42, 11, 2, *beneficiis, ingentia quae in eum congesta erant*, where *ingentia* is strongly predicative, and is practically the equivalent of a clause such as "ita ut ingentia essent." As I have proposed formerly to read *antea* for *tanta* in the earlier passage, so here I would suggest *ut scribis*. It is hardly possible that *scribis*, like *puto*, &c., should be here used parenthetically.

39. § 2. nec enim inde uenit (Brutus) unde mallet, neque diu afuit, neque ullam litteram ad me.

TP supply to the last words *misisti*; surely *misit* is wanted. Cicero is giving several reasons for not making

a special visit to Rome to see Brutus; Brutus has come from Caesar; he has not been long away; during his absence he has never sent Cicero a single line.

41. § 2. nisi quid a te commeatus.

These words are at the end of the letter. Originally, I think, it ended with *nisi quid a te*, a common ellipse, but one that seemed strange to some copyist, who introduced *commeat*, possibly from Att. 8, 9, 3. The same kind of thing has occurred, I believe, in the following letter § 1, "*faciam quod nolunt.*" "*Feliciter uelim,*" inquam "*teque laudo.*" *Feliciter uelim* could only mean 'I wish good luck may go with you,' i.e. *uelim f. id tibi euenire*; but it is not unlikely that the ordinary exclamatory *feliciter*! was misunderstood, and thought to need completion.

44. § 1. *suaues tuas litteras! etsi acerba pompa; uerum tamen scire omnia non acerbum est.*

TP render *non acerbum est* by 'the time is ripe'; but surely Cicero is alluding to the proverb οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι (Att. 4, 11, 2), and is expressly referring back to *suaues*.

44. § 2. annueram sed pompa uideret.

Crat. and edd. generally *deterret*. Rather *pompam uides*; cf. Fin. 3, 9 *sed aetatem uides*; the form of phrase was not uncommon. Possibly in Att. 16, 8, 1, the correct reading is *uides nomen, uides aetatem* (referring to Octavian). Prof. Bury's emendation, *sed pompam aueo uidere* (HERMATHENA, 1887), cannot stand, because in the references which Cicero makes to the *pompa* with its statute of Caesar among those of the gods, he proclaims his repugnance for it. Nevertheless here in the next sentence but one, he commends Atticus for permitting Attica (who had been ill) to witness the spectacle: "*est quiddam etiam animum leuari cum spectatione tum etiam religionis opinione et fama.*" Considering the inveterate connexion of the

ludi in the popular mind with religion, and the fact that Cicero always half-contemptuously humours the religious fancies of the women, there seems to be nothing unnatural in what is here said. The conjecture of TP that there may be an allusion to the question of ritual involved in the exhibition of Caesar's image side by side with those of the divinities, seems to be out of harmony with *leuari*. Attica's feelings would scarcely be soothed by listening to discussions about ritual.

46. § 2. Balbum conueni, Lepta enim de sua ui in curatione laborans me ad eum perduxerat.

For *ui in* (vainly defended by Lehmann), *uini* is usually read. But the comparison with Fam. 6, 19, 2, appears to me to confer a high probability on the conjecture of S, *munerum*. I do not quite understand the bearing of the remark made by TP, that there is no evidence for such a contraction as *mun* for *munerum*. The neglect of the contractional sign for *rum* is a very fruitful source of error in MSS.; and vowels were frequently written in very small form over the line and were easily overlooked, and *mun* would readily be resolved into *ui in*.

47a. nisi Torquatus esset.

"But for Torquatus." This is a thoroughly idiomatic form; cf. e. g. 39, 2 nisi hoc esset, 'but for this'; Fam. 12, 25, 4, 'qui nisi fuisset.' Therefore the proposal of TP to read *adesset* is not acceptable.

48. § 1. heri nescio quid in strepitu uideor exaudisse cum diceres te in Tusculanum uenturum.

It seems to me that *cum* (*quom*) is an error for *quasi*; *cum* would only be applicable if there were no doubt about what was said. For *in strepitu* cf. *in turba*, in Ad Brut. 2, 4, 1, hoc paululum exarui ipsa in turba matutinae salutationis.

J. S. REID.

ON SOME PASSAGES OF BACCHYLIDES.

I. 2 ff. K. = I. d. 2 ff. Bl.¹ = I. 139 Bl.².

ἐκ τᾶ]ς μὲν γένος
 ἔπλε[το καρτε]ρόχειρ
 Ἄργεῖο[ς υ - υ] λείστος
 θυμὸ[ν ἔχων], ὁπότε
 χρεῖ βολοῖ μάχας.

5

The difficulties of this passage arise chiefly from ver. 6. All attempts to restore this verse which do not take into account the β are wrong. It is true, that only the undermost part of that letter has been preserved: but in this case that part is quite unmistakeable. Since there is no suitable verb in -βολώ—the late ἀσβολόω may be left out of the question—-βολοῖ must have been an optative form of a verb in -έω, although wrong in two respects, since the dialect would require -βολέοι, and the metre - -, instead of υ - (see my edition, on p. 1). As for the beginning of the verse (- - υ -), there was originally αχρεῖ, which was corrected to χρεῖ (see my edition). There is but one word suiting the exigencies of the case, the adjective χρεῖος, ‘needful,’ which, being a rare word, had been corrupted to the common ἀχρεῖος.¹ For although Homer has τὸ χρεῖος = χρεός, both Bacch. (vii. 43) and Pindar employ only the form χρεός. For these reasons I wrote in my first edition, χρεῖόν τι κερβολοῖ (κερβόλλοι) μάχας. There are few verbs in -βολέω, and κερβολέω = κερτομέω is the only one which

¹ Cp. ἀθανατον for θανατον, pr. m. v. 134.

has a collateral form in -βόλλω, the optative of which meets the exigencies both of metre and dialect, κερβόλλοι. But although the sense (whenever some beast or man, desirous of combat, provoked it) seems satisfactory, the expression is not clear, since it remains obscure what is the subject and what is the object, and obscurity in Bacchylides, as a general rule, means corruption, or wrong restoration. Moreover, there is not room for ONTIKEP, the space admitting but five letters, = NEXΩN, ver. 5, or NT'ΕΑΑ, ver. 7. In order to avoid these difficulties, I now prefer to write *χεῖδος ἐ κερβόλλοι μάχας*. There is no ξ, at present, in Bacchylides, but we have it in Pindar, *Ol.* ix. 14, and we have the corresponding dative οἱ in Bacchylides (whereas he ordinarily employs νιν or μιν for the accusative). This οἱ has always in Bacchylides, and almost always in Pindar, a vowel preceding it¹; but this rule does not hold good for ξ, Pindar, *Ol.* ix. 14, αἰνήσαις ξ καὶ νιδόν (*N.* vii. 25, εἰ γὰρ ἦν | ξ τάν, Boeckh for ξάν). Either, then, the F of Fέ lengthens the -ας (although elsewhere in both poets the F has not this force), or - υ υ - stands for - - υ -, as in other instances in Bacchylides (v. 151, 191).

Now, if this restoration is substantially correct, the *όποτε* with optative must express what used to be in the past, and refers, of course, to the lion, not to the living victor. It is evident, therefore, that a particular lion is meant; and, as I reminded my readers in my first edition, there was a fabulous Cean lion, a statue of which is still preserved in the neighbourhood of the ancient Iulis. This lion, then, must have been mentioned before in the poem, and there was space enough for that in the first six systems, of which but scanty remains have come down to us. But even if the lion was mentioned before, merely *λέοντος*, or

¹ The only exception is Pindar, *Ol.* i. 58, *ἔταν ὑπέρσπλον, ἔν* (τάν codd.) *οἱ πατήρ ὑπεκρέμασε καρτερὸν αὐτῷ* λίθον, a passage which is surely open to criticism.

even, ὀλοῖο λείοντος (Barnet) is not enough to indicate that particular lion here. I have thought of [ὁ μουνος]λείοντος, cp. Leonid. Tarent. Anth. Pal. vi. 221, 3, and besides μονό-λυκος, Οἰόλυκος, all these expressions denoting a single beast of that kind, living by itself, and growing uncommonly strong and ferocious.

III. 69 ff.

θεοφι]λῇ φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀρήϊον,
 τεθμ]ίου (ῥ) σκάπτρον Διὸς
 ἰοπλό]κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχοντ]α Μουσᾶν
 . . .] μαλέαι ποτ[.]μων
 . . . νουσεφᾶμερον α[
 . . . ασκοπεις βραχ[

70

The reading Κῶν τε Μιρο[π of ver. 71 (K.) has been refuted by the discovery of a fragment containing the last part of each of these verses (see my edition). Now, the Μαλέα of ver. 72 ought to be rejected also, although I retained it at first. The adjectives ῥωμαλῆος and δειμαλῆος suggest themselves; if we read δει]μαλῆαι or -μαλῆα, it is easy to refer that to something belonging to Hieron, who had once been a formidable warrior (ἀρήϊον, 69). And the next word really seems to be ποτέ. When I was examining the doubtful passages in the papyrus itself, in March and April of this year, partly with the very valuable assistance of Dr. Kenyon, he called my attention to the fact that the second π in ver. 23, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ δαμασιππου, has been corrected to κ, in order to restore the Ionic form κοτέ. Now, the same thing appears to be true of the ποτ here also: π has been corrected to κ, as it seems (see the fac-simile), and if so, we have here unquestionably the adverb ποτέ again, and not some other word beginning with ποτ-. As for the μων at the end of the verse, I was unable to recognise the μ, but saw only traces of a vertical stroke before the ων, that is to say, of μ, or ν, or π, or ι (η). It is easy, then, to

restore the verse in this manner: $\delta\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \pi\omicron\tau[\epsilon \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\iota} \theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\nu$. $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ occurs not only in Homer, but also in Pindar (P. x. 54). Now, the next verse must contain the contrast to this, Hieron's present life in time of peace, for he is not only a warrior, but also, and much more so now than formerly, $\iota\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{o}\kappa\omega\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \xi\chi\omega\nu \text{Μουσᾶν}$ (71). Comparing Pindar's (*Is.* vi. [vii.] 40 f.), $\delta\epsilon, \tau\iota \tau\epsilon\rho\pi\nu\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \delta\iota\acute{\omega}\kappa\omega\nu \xi\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma \xi\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma \xi\varsigma \tau\epsilon \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \mu\acute{o}\rho\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu \alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$, I should like to restore the line so as to read $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}[\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu \cup | - \cup] \alpha \sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. As we have $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ in ver. 80, and $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ in Pindar, we are free to suppose that there was a form $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Furthermore, this verse ended in a vertical stroke, the remains of which are to be seen below the supposed $\mu(\omega\nu)$ of ver. 72, so that this verse was shorter by two letters than the preceding one, and $\Lambda[\Delta\omicron\text{NAN} \dots$ corresponded in length to EXEIPITHYN . It is probable, then, that there were two letters after $\Lambda\Delta\omicron\text{NAN}$, either an ι with a consonant before it (a diphthong being excluded by the metre), or a short vowel with N following. In the latter case, however, there is this restriction, that the $\alpha\nu$ (or $\epsilon\nu$, etc.) must form a syllable by itself. $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\alpha$ (= $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$: I. d. 12 = 150; Pind. fr. 236, $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\alpha \delta' \omicron\upsilon\kappa \xi\lambda\iota\pi\upsilon\nu \beta\iota\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$, of the delphines) seems to be very appropriate both as an adjective qualifying these pleasures of the Muses, and because it affords a contrast to Hieron's former prowess in wars. See Pindar, *Ol.* i. 14 ff. (of Hieron): $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\omicron\nu\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}\tau\omega, \omicron\iota\alpha \pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota} \theta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha} \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha\nu$. With $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\alpha$ cp. (at the same place in the strophe) ver. 4, $\tau' \omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\delta\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma$. Lastly, in ver. 74 there may be a punctuation mark after $\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in the papyrus: I should write $\beta\rho\alpha\chi[\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\iota\nu \alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$, and the whole passage thus:—

$\theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\eta} \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\pi\pi\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho' \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\eta}\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu,$
 $\tau\epsilon\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\rho\omicron\nu \Delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$
 $\iota\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{o}\kappa\omega\nu \tau\epsilon \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron[\varsigma \xi\chi\omicron\nu\tau] \alpha \text{Μουσᾶν}.$

ὅς δει]μαλέα ποτ[ἐ χειρὶ θύ]νων
 γελα]νὸς ἐφάμερον ἀ[δονὰν φ]ι-
 λάνορ]α σκοπεῖς. βραχ[ὺς ἐστὶν αἰὼν· κτέ.

III. 85 ff.

βαθὺς μὲν
 αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου
 οὐ σάπεται· εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός·
 ἀνδρὶ δ' οὐ θέμις κτέ.

The contrast is between the imperishability of the elements and the liability of man to decay. How then can it be to the point to say that gold is joy, that is, the joy of men? *Εὐφροσύνα* has been suspected, with good reason, from the first; but it is not because it is an abstract noun that it is to be suspected. There are many instances of this use of abstracts in the poets; the expression gains by it in vigour and force; for instance, when Orestes says of his mother in Aeschylus (*Choeph.* 1028), *πατροκτόνον μίσημα καὶ θεῶν στόχος*. Moreover, as we have in the corresponding verse of another strophe (31) either *δουλοσύ]ναν*, or *δυσφροσύ]ναν*, the *-οσύνα* seems to be right in this place also, for it is well known that Bacchylides frequently repeats a word or syllable at the corresponding place in a later strophe. As for the sense required, we may compare Pindar, *Frag.* 222, *Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός· κείνον οὐ σῆς οὐδὲ κίς δάπτει*: or better still, Theognis, 451 f., *τοῦ (χρυσοῦ) χροῖης καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἄπτεται ἰός, οὐδ' ἐνρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν*. Then, why should we not replace *εὐφροσύνα* by *εὐχροσύνα*? The word was not known before; but we may derive *εὐχροσύνα* from *εὐχρος*, as well as *εὐφροσύνα* from *εὐφρων*, or *δισποσύνη* from *δισπότης*, or *ἀληθοσύνη* from *ἀληθής*. That there will be an alliteration between *εὐχροσύνα* and *χρυσός* is one reason more in favour of the conjecture: cp. *αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος*, 88 *πολιὸν παρέντα*, 89 *αὐτὶς ἀγκομίσσαι*, 90 *γε μὲν οὐ μινύθει*, etc.

XII. (XIII.), 71 (38) ff.

- -] πόλιν ὑψιάγνιαν
 - υ -] τερψιμβρότων
 - - υ υ] α[υ υ]όων
 κώ[μων π]ατρ[φά]ν
 νάσο[υ] ὑπέρβιον ἰσχύν
 παμμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων.

75

This is the form in which these lines appear in my first edition. I feel, however, very doubtful about the restoration of ver. 74, because I saw in the papyrus itself, after the traces of the third letter (M?), other traces, which could not belong to ω, or to ο, but seemed to indicate ε, or, as Dr. Kenyon now thinks, α. If this is right, the word κῶμος is excluded from this verse, and must be given a place elsewhere. κωμε-, on the other hand, gives no sense at all, and κωμα- no good sense. Still the μ itself is doubtful, for there is nothing visible but the lower parts of two upright strokes. We may, perhaps, read κῶργάν πατρφάν. Ὅργα is used in a periphrase for a person by Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. (v.) 34, ἀλλ' ἐν Οἰνώνῃ μεγάλοισι ὄργαι Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε: here then κῶργάν πατρφάν would be equivalent to καὶ τὸν πατέρα. If therefore Dr. Kenyon's αὔξεις is adopted in 71, and also his νᾶσον ὑπέρβιον ἰσχύν παμμαχιᾶν ἀναφαίνων in 75 f., I think that the general sense of the passage is both clear and good. Of course, ὑπέρβιον is to be construed with νᾶσον, ἰσχύν as depending on ὑπέρβιον, and παμμαχιᾶν (in spite of the accent given in the MS.) as depending on ἰσχύν. As for ἀναφαίνων, I object to my own παμμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων, on the ground that when the verb, as in this case, immediately follows, the anastrophe mars the clearness of the passage; moreover, that φαίνων recurs in 84; and lastly, that the compound verb finds a close parallel in certain passages in Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 73, ἔνθα νικάσαις ἀνέφανε Κυράναν: *N.* ix. 12, ἀμίλλαις ἄρμασί τε γλαφυροῖς ἄμφαινε

κυδαίνων πόλιν: *Is.* vii. (viii.) 55 (61), Αἴγιναν σφετέραν τε
 ῥίζαν πρόφαινε. The words νᾶσον . . . ἀναφ. afford an easy
 transition to ὦ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ . . . Αἴγινα, 77 f.

In ver. 73, as I have said in my edition, Jebb's δυνόων cannot be right, because the second letter, the uppermost part of which is discernible, may have been a B, or a P, or perhaps a C, but not a Δ. I ought to have added, that it may have been an E. This makes a conjecture possible: ἀερσινόων, a word used by Nonnus, and perhaps by Ion, in whose ninth fragment Bergk, after Casaubon, has written οἶνον ἀερσίνοον (instead of ἀερσίπνον). We have in this same poem of Bacchylides, and in a place which is similar to that, although it does not exactly correspond (ver. 100), νίεας (read νίας) ἀερσιμάχους. With the addition of the κώμων (or αὐλῶν), and of ὕπ', we may, then, restore the whole verse thus, κώμων (αὐλῶν) ὕπ' ἀ[ερσιν]όων. In 72 the word Αἰακοῦ, which stands in the corresponding verse 183, would suit very well. So I think the whole passage may be read thus:

αὔξεις] πόλιν ὑψιάγουσαν
 Αἰακοῦ τε] ρψιμβρότων
 κώμων ὕπ' ἀερσινόων
 κώργαν πατρώαν,
 νᾶσο[ν] ὑπέρβιον ἰσχὺν
 παμμαχιᾶν ἀναφαίνων.

XII. (XIII.), 159 (126) ff.

δόκεν ἐλόντες
 νᾶα]s ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ
 γαίας υ - -] νέας
 - - υ μετ' εἰλα] πίνας τ' ἐν
 - υ] ρ[.]is ἔξιν θεόδματον πόλιν.

To begin with ver. 163, I have objected to Dr. Kenyon's ἀμέ]ρ[α]ις, for the reason that there is too much space for

the three letters AME. But in every other respect the conjecture seems very probable, and we may meet that one objection by inserting τε : ἐν | θ' ἀμέραις. This gives us at once a clue to the restoration of ver. 162, ἐν νυξί (cp. Ἐνδαίδα, 96) μετ' εἰλαπίνας τ' ἐν, that is, ἐν νυξί τε μετ' εἰλ., with a hyperbaton because of the metre. Similarly, Pindar says (*Pyth.* iv. 130 f.), ἀθρόαις πέντε δραπῶν νύκτεσσιν ἐν θ' ἀμέραις ἱερὸν ἐνζώας ἄωτον. But it is more difficult to restore the three preceding verses. As κυανώπιδας requires the accus. plur. of ναῦς, the editio princeps gives νέας in 161 (as that accusative), but this is open to the serious objection, that the Ionic declension of ναῦς is never found in Bacchylides (or in Pindar); see νᾶα, xvi. 89, 119, etc. Nāa]ς ἱππενταί, therefore, as I have written in 160, is preferable. By the juxtaposition of these words the futility of the Trojans' hope is made more striking. But my own ἐκ | γαίας seems to me now improbable. Why should this be mentioned? It was madness to attack the ships with the chariots, but not to attack them from the land-side, since they were on the land. Nairn suggests ἐκ|φλέξασιν, Herwerden ἐκπέρσασιν: but I object to the case, because ἱππενταί is certainly in the nominative, and would be decidedly weakened if it were made a mere epithet of Τρῶε]ς (Nairn). On the other hand, ἐκ|πέρσαντες] would do very well. In that case my ἐλόντες in 159 must be replaced by something like Ἀχαιῶν. For the rest of 161 I now conjecture ἐξ ἀρχᾶς] νέας = πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, so that if these readings are adopted the passage will be as follows:—

δόκευν Ἀχαιῶν	
νᾶα]ς ἱππενταί κυανώπιδας ἐκ-	160
πέρσαντες ἐξ ἀρχᾶς] νέας	
ἐν νυξί μετ' εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν	
θ' ἀμέ]ρ[α]ς ἐξείν θεόδοματον πόλιν.	

It would be better, perhaps, to write 162 and 163 as parts of the same period, since ἐν | θ' is a bad division of

different periods. There is nothing in the other epodes to prevent the combining of these verses.

XV. (XVI.) 13.

I have written *πρίν γε κλέμεν λιπεῖν*, instead of *κλέομεν*, and I am surprised to find that other editors and critics seem not to see the necessity of altering the indicative after *πρίν*. It is true, that *πρίν*, if it means 'previously,' may govern the indicative after another sentence; but what will be the sense of this passage? Jurenka explains: we sing of this before Apollo returns to Delphi. But when we look at the preceding verses, we meet with an insurmountable obstacle: *τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν σὸν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγακλία ναόν*. Jurenka's interpretation of ver. 13 might be possible, if the preceding verb were *κελαδεῦσιν*, or *κελαδήσουσιν* (i.e. after Apollo's return); but since it is *κελάδησαν*, the aorist necessarily requires that the time in the past be in some way defined, and this is done here in the sentence beginning with *πρίν*. So there is no full stop before the *πρίν*, any more than before *τόσα* (ver. 11), which stands for *ὅσα*, and refers to *παιόνων* (Wilamowitz) *ἄνθια*, 8 f. But as soon as the proper connexion between the sentences is established, it is evident that the indicative *κλέομεν* is wrong. Nor can we, as Crusius thinks, include it between brackets, in order to make *λιπεῖν* the infinitive required: for *πρίν γε, κλέομεν, λιπεῖν*, 'before, so we sing, Herakles left,' is not good Greek, or, at least, not poetical Greek. On the other hand, the change to *κλέμεν* is as easy as possible, and with *κλέμεν* all is intelligible, and the sense is excellent: these pæans were sung by Delphian choruses from immemorial times, even before they sung (as they will now) how Herakles left Oichalia, that is to say, even before that event occurred.

XVI. (XVII.) 85 ff.

τᾶκεν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνδοθεν
 κίαρ, κέλυσέ τε κατ' οὖ-
 ρον ἴσχευ ἐνδαίδαλον
 νᾶα· (μοῖρα δ' ἐτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὁδόν·)
 ἔετο δ' ὠκύπομπον δόρυ· σόει, κτέ.

On this passage, which is, perhaps, the most vexing in the whole poem—not even excepting the αἰόνα, 112, for there the meaning is plain, while here it is not—a great deal has already been written. What order did Minos give?—to stop, or to go on? That depends on his state of mind when he saw Theseus leap into the sea. What were his feelings? That, again, depends on the reading of ver. 86. Now, I never pretended to read with certainty in the MS. TAKEN, nor did Dr. Kenyon claim that he could read TAΞEN, which is assuredly wrong, because there is not even room enough for so broad a letter there. Since ΓΑΘΕΝ, which was conjectured by Prof. Jebb, is clearly not the word in the MS., there is but one possibility more (if τᾶκεν is rejected on the ground that the sense is not satisfactory), namely, TAΦΕΝ, which was conjectured by Pearson, Richards, Weil (cp. 78, τάφον). On examining the passage again in the MS. itself, I did find some unmistakeable traces of the φ. Then, Minos was astonished at Theseus' feat. If astonished, a feeling which is akin to admiration, he naturally wished to save him, and the order must have been, Stop! Professor N. Festa, of Florence, has written a very interesting and convincing paper on this subject, under the title, “Per l' onore del re di Creta,”¹ where he proves that the son of Zeus is by no means represented by the poet as a mere heartless tyrant. But the great difficulty is this: how is the order, Stop! to be

¹ Nozze Rostagno-Cavazza; N. Festa e G. Vandelli, *Miscellanea*, Firenze, 1898.

reconciled with the language of vv. 86 ff.? For *κατ' οὔρου ἴσχειν* seems to mean just the contrary—to direct the ship according to the wind, which came from behind (ver. 5 f.). Prof. Housman, who saw very clearly what the sense of the passage must be, proposed to write *κάτουρον*: to stop (*ἴσχειν*) the ship, although she was sailing before the wind. But, as I said before, clearness of expression is one of the main features of Bacchylides' style, and in disputed passages no conjecture can be accepted which is deficient in this respect. If the words *KATOYPONICXEN* meant what Prof. Housman understands them to mean, they certainly would have been misunderstood by any ordinary reader. Perhaps, then, *παρ' οὔρου*, which would be unmistakeable. But the similarity of sound in a corresponding place, antistr. β, 110, *σεμνὰν βοῶπιν ἱρατοῖ(σιν)*, seems to protect the *κατ'*. There is another question also—how was the ship to be stopped? By lowering the sail? That would have required time, and there was no time to lose. Or was it by the helm and the oars? I should like to see this expressed, or at least implied, by the poet, and there seems indeed to be a way to that, for we must bear in mind that this ode has come to us in a bad state of preservation, for which the copyists are more in fault than the papyrus. I think the poet wrote, *κέλευσέ θ' (τε) ἑκατόντορον σχέν εὐδαίδαλον νῆα*. The word *ἑκατόντορος*, formed after the analogy of *πεντηκόντορος*, is not altogether new, for it is attested by Pollux, i. 82, where *διήρης* is given in the same sense also. The war-ships in older times were generally *πεντηκόντοροι*: and so Pindar (*Schol. Townl. Il. Π. 170*) used *πεντηκονταίρετμους* of the ships of the Achaeans. But the intermediate stage between the *πεντηκόντορος* = *μονήρης* (Poll. *loc. cit.*) and the *τριήρης* was the *ἑκατόντορος* = *διήρης*, and it cannot surprise anyone to find that Bacchylides ascribes to the King of the Cretans, who was at his time *θαλασσοκράτωρ*, a royal ship of a hundred oars. The change in the

letters is very slight; as for T instead of Θ, cp. xviii. 15, ΟΤΙΠΠΙΟΝ, pr. m., instead of ΟΘΙΠΠΙΟΝ.

But fate would have its course, vv. 89 f., *μοῖρα δ' ἑτέραν ἐπόρουν' ὁδόν' ἔτεο δ' ὠκύπομπον δόρυ*. The strength of the hundred rowers was no match for the wind; the ship went on, but Theseus was saved notwithstanding. Of course the words *μοῖρα . . . ὁδόν'* are not to be treated as a parenthesis, as in my first edition. At last Theseus reappears; then Minos is again mentioned, vv. 119 ff., *φεῦ· οἴαισιν ἐν φροντίσι Κνώσιον ἔσχασεν στραταγέταν, ἐπεὶ μόλ' ἀδίαντος ἐξ ἀλός*. What is the meaning here? Certainly Minos was not glad to see him; he must have felt deeply mortified after having indulged in self-gratulation (Kenyon); but Festa is right in saying, that the very general word *φροντίσι* may be interpreted in different ways. Minos was disappointed; that is all the poet tells us.

FRAG. 30 [39].

*τὰν ἀχείμαντόν τε Μέμφιν
καὶ δονακῶδεα Νεῖλον.*

These words are quoted from Bacchylides by Athenaeus, i. 20 D, without indicating what kind of a poem this was. Now, there is a very strong resemblance here to xii. (xiii.) 181 f.:—

*καὶ πολίπλαγκτον θάλασσαν
καὶ μὰν φερεκυδέα νᾶσον.*

I do not think that this resemblance in sound can be accidental, but believe that the verses belong to this very poem (which has come down to us in a much mutilated state), and that the resemblances fall under the head of the often-mentioned repetitions of words and sounds in corresponding places in different strophes. There is, indeed, one difference in the metre: the second verse of the quotation lacks a syllable at the beginning. But there

is an easy remedy: why not καὶ <τὸν> δονακώδεα Νεῖλον, as before τὰν . . . Μίμφιν? Then the question will be, what place to assign to the fragment. Unfortunately, we have at our disposal more than one place. The corresponding verses are the fourth and fifth of an (anti)strophe; now, these are missing in str. ant. α', str. β', and ζ'. As for the last of these lacunæ, which is ten verses in extent, it is not very probable from what follows, and what precedes, that this distant country was mentioned here. The first strophe also seems to be excluded, because it is quite unlikely that the poet's fancy soared so far at the very beginning of its flight. On the contrary, the second strophe, the two last verses of which have been preserved, affords a very convenient place in which to speak of Egypt. There is a speech of the nymph Nemea (as I believe), who, looking on the combat of Herakles with the Nemean lion, prophesies his future exploits (vv. 44 f.—Ἕβριος ὑψινόου παύσει δίκας θνατοῖσι κραίνων), among which there was an expedition to Egypt, where he slew Busiris, and Busiris, according to Pherecydes (*Schol. Apollon.* 4, 1396), lived at Memphis. So I think it at least highly probable, that the fragment preceded the first line now extant with the narrow interval of five verses.

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PROFESSOR ELLIS'S EDITION OF VELLEIUS.¹

THE criticism of Velleius is curious. It centres round a single manuscript which is lost; and depends on the Editio Princeps, which is based on a copy of this MS., and a copy (probably of that copy) which is extant. There is, besides, at the end of the Ed. Princ., a list of the divergences of the text of that edition from the MS., which list was made after the sheets of the edition had been printed off. When we remember, further, that the MS. was an exceptionally corrupt one (*'prodigiose corruptus,'* says Rhenanus) and apparently very difficult to read, there is little wonder that the text of Velleius is in an exceedingly unsettled state.

In 1515 Rhenanus discovered the MS. of Velleius at Murbach in Alsace. It is probable that he at once got it copied; but judging from his own inspection of the codex, which appeared full of corruptions, and from a more careful study of the copy, he decided that it would be unwise to publish an edition until he saw whether there was any chance of further manuscripts coming to light; especially as he believed that Merula had discovered another codex at Milan.² Meanwhile he gave a

¹ Vellei Patreculi ad M. Vinicium Libri duo, ex Amerbachii praecepue apographo edidit et emendauit R. ELLIS, Litterarum Latinarum Professor Publicus apud Oxonienses. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano MDCCCXCVIII.

² See Rhenanus, quoted by Prof. Ellis, p. viii.: Equidem abhinc annos ut puto quinque cum primum hunc in

Murbacensi bibliotheca reperissem, et uiderem tam prodigiose corruptum ut omnia restituere non foret humani ingenii, properanter ac infeliciter ab amico quodam descriptum, premendum plane censebam donec melioris nobis codicis fieret copia, quem acceperam haberi Mediolani inuentum olim a Georgio Merula.

loan of his copy to a friend, Boniface Amerbach, a young man keenly interested in literary matters, with whose family he was on intimate terms, and in whose house he often resided. Amerbach copied the copy of Rhenanus (finishing it August 11, 1516), and kept what he wrote for his own use. After some four years, Rhenanus, despairing of getting any further assistance for his edition, corrected his own copy, and in 1520 handed it over to Froben, the Basle printer, for publication. In doing so he directed the printers and readers of that establishment to compare carefully the text which he furnished with the manuscript itself, of which Froben (who was in high repute with the monks of Murbach) appears to have obtained a loan. But neither printers nor readers, in their hurry to get the work done, paid proper attention to these directions; and it was not until the sheets had been printed off that one of the copyists whom Rhenanus used, Albert Burer informed him that there were many discrepancies between the printed sheets and the codex. In order to remedy these defects Rhenanus appended to his edition a list of the passages where the printed text was at variance with the MS. This list was made by Burer,¹ and on the whole affords us the most certain knowledge which we possess of the readings of the codex. These readings are denoted by B; the readings of the Ed. Princ. by P; and those of Amerbach's copy by A. For convenience sake we may designate (as Halm does) the copy made for Rhenanus by R, and the Murbach manuscript by M?

Amerbach's copy (A) was discovered by Orelli in 1835 in the Basle library. At once questions arose about it. Was it the copy "*properanter ac infelicitè ab amico quodam descriptum*" and accordingly a copy direct from M? If so, was the judgment passed upon it by Rhenanus

¹ See Rhenanus's letter to Spalatin, quoted by Prof. Ellis, pp. ix, x.

just? and in any case what is the value of A for anyone wishing to obtain a knowledge of M?

Prof. Ellis has carefully studied A, and answers the first question by denying that A is the copy which Rhenanus disparaged. For A was not copied until many months after the discovery of M, and it is unlikely that Rhenanus would have tolerated such delay; and it is also improbable that Rhenanus would have entrusted such a difficult task to such a young man as Amerbach, who was only twenty-one at this time. To these arguments we may add others advanced by Fechter¹: (1) That while Rhenanus's copy was locked up in Rhenanus's desk (*premendum plane censebam*, cp. note on p. 369 above) until he obtained a better basis for his edition, Amerbach kept his copy as his own property, and took it with him to Freiburg and Avignon. This is proved, according to Fechter (pp. 37 f), by the marginal note in A on ii. 7 (*Opimiani*) *uicini*, A; *uici*, P; *uini*, marg. A. This latter word is written in the peculiar handwriting of Ulrich Zasius (in whose house in Freiburg Amerbach resided), as can be proved from the manuscript letters of Zasius. And that Amerbach had his own copy with him at Avignon is proved, by a letter from Rhenanus to him in 1520: "*Apud illum (sc. Frobenium) œdimus Vellei fragmenta quae nosti, nam habes exscripta.*" (2) It was not likely that Rhenanus, who had such a warm admiration for Amerbach, would, in his preface, have spoken in such a slighting manner of him, and thus endangered a continuance of their friendship. It may be considered certain that A was not the original copy made for Rhenanus.

But was A copied from M direct? Fechter thinks not,

¹ D. A. Fechter, *Die Amerbach-ische Abschrift des Velleius Paterculus und ihr Verhältniss zum Murbacher Codex und zur Editio Princeps* Basle, 1844.

but that it was copied from R (the copy of M made for Rhenanus); and adduces some strong reasons (pp. 36ff, 49) for his view: (1) The fact that Rhenanus got a friend to copy M for him seems to prove that M was not brought to Basle on its first discovery; otherwise Rhenanus would probably have copied it himself, or at least carefully supervised the copy; and A was made at Basle in Amerbach's house, as Amerbach himself tells us. (2) M had no punctuation¹; A has punctuation, but often utterly wrong². Now it is impossible that so well-educated a man as Amerbach would have failed, at least in most places, to see the proper punctuation if he wished to insert it himself; so that we may infer that the punctuation in A is not his. But it may have been that of the friend who copied M for Rhenanus; and Amerbach, believing, as Rhenanus did, that this copy was a faithful one, transcribed that copy, without any reserve, intending to subject his own copy to further examination. (3) From passages where A inserts a word or words synonymous, but not identical, with what was in his copy³ it may be inferred that he was able to read his original easily, and was not compelled to make it out word by word with great difficulty, but grasped a whole sentence and reproduced it, occasionally with error in a single word which he afterwards corrected. If this view of Fechter's is correct, viz. that A is a copy of R we can see reason for (1) the frequent cases in which A and P

¹Cp. Fechter, p. 49, who quotes Rhenanus on last page of Ed. Princ.:

"Ausim iurare, eum, qui illum descripserat, ne uerbum quidem intellexisse; adeo omnia erant confusa absque ullis punctis aut distinctionibus"; and Burer, referring to M, says, "(qui aliquando ueterum exemplaria euoluerunt) nouerunt item, pleraque ueterum exemplaria sine maiusculis literis, sine punctis, demum etiam

sine omni sententiarum discrimine scripta."

²e.g. I, 16, 3, *Philemo et Diphilus et inuenere intra paucissimos annos. Neque imitanda relinquere, &c.*, and others quoted by Fechter, p. 50.

³e.g. ii. 100, 5, *cum . . . Neronis uiolasset uxorem*. This last word is erased, and *coningem* written above it; cp. also 22, 1; 42, 2; 78, 1; 90, 3, quoted by Fechter.

agree in deviating from M without presenting correct readings; (2) the uncouthness (so to speak) of A; for owing to the extreme corruption of M, the original copyist would appear to have devoted his attention mainly to extracting correct Latin words from the corruptions, and was not either able or solicitous to ensure that his sentences should be capable of being construed. And the multitude of mistakes in A are proof that Amerbach made no systematic attempt to emend the text, but merely copied, as may be especially seen in the cases of faulty separation of words¹; so that A gives us a very fair idea of what, for critical purposes, was found in M.

But it would be unjust to deny that A has some faults. These are noticed by Halm in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxx. (1875), 537 ff. A often errs in the matter of omissions. Thus, ii. 95, 3, it omits two whole lines; we find also the following words omitted: ii. 5, 2, *in his*; 31, 2, *etiam*; 44, 4, *erat*; 46, 2, *prouinciae*; 50, 1, *quae*; 52, 5, *suae*; 53, 2, *obuiam*; 53, 3, *uiri*; 56, 3, *tanto uiro*; and many others, some forty in all. In some cases its superscribed variants may be emendations of Rhenanus, as in one case an explicit statement to this effect is forthcoming: ii. 38, 4, ^{initio Beat} A; ^{in otio} *initio*, P.² Sometimes A has altered correct readings, e.g. i. 15, 2, *Aquileia* into *Aquila*; ii. 9, 3, *euectis* into *aetatis*; 40, 4, *Labienus* into *Labenius*; 112, 3, *aciem* into *aciam* (= ac iam); *etiam*, P. Perhaps R may have omitted *arbitris* in ii. 14, 3, and at the suggestion of Rhenanus A may have added *hominibus*. In ii. 100, 3, to Rhenanus may be due *iudicans* A³ for the correct *uindicans* A¹; in 119, 2, ^E*egredie* (so A) the suggestion *egregie* is probably

¹ e.g. ii. 16, 1, *inste iuscato* for *Insteius Cato*; 84, 2, *exemplis uite* *naxuta* for *exempli sui tenax*; 89, 3, *bellaci Iulia* for *bella ciuilia*: cp. Prof.

Ellis, p. xvii.

² As I do not feel clear that Rhenanus had collated M when A was made, I regard this as his conjecture.

due to A himself, who did not go beyond the word. Some other similar errors might be added. Still, taking everything together, it would appear that Amerbach's copy, if occasionally faulty, was a transcript which rarely errs in respect of purposely altering its original, and is accordingly valuable for critical purposes. And its relative worth, as compared with P, may also be estimated by the carelessness which P often displays, *e.g.* ii. 14, 3, *templum* for *domum*; 29, 1, *senatu* for *consulatu*; 39, 3, omits *extorsit*; 54, 3, *ambitus* for *a militibus*, in all which passages Burer agrees with A.

Here, too, it is to be noticed, what Halm has so well shown (*op. cit.* 535 ff.), that the judgment of Rhenanus on the copy (R) which his friend made for him is a harsh one. After comparison of the places where B disagrees with A and P (which latter may be taken to represent R) the result is that in only 30 has the copyist read or copied inaccurately; most of these are errors in a single letter, *e.g.* i. 12, 5, *monumentum*, AP; *monimentum*, B; in a few cases we find additions (*e.g.* 120, 1, *hostium*) and two omissions (ii. 14, 3, *arbitris*; 56, 3, *uictoribus suis*).

The characteristics of A are well set forth by Prof. Ellis (pp. xvii-xxii). He rightly attributes to it great weight, as it is much closer to M than P, which is R corrected and emended by Rhenanus himself. This would appear to be the case from the circumstances under which A and P were produced; but it will appear still more clearly if we take into consideration the collation of P with M as given by Burer. Prof. Ellis has shown that A rarely, while P often, differs from B; so that both *a priori* and *a posteriori* it would appear that A is nearer to M than P is.

But we may go further. We can see reason to suppose that A often gives the correct reading, in opposition to P, even though B by his silence seems to indicate that M had

the same reading as P. For, even excluding matters of orthography, in respect of which Burer rarely recorded any variants, we must not suppose that he was always scrupulously accurate as regards words, though he speaks of comparing "singula singulis" (Fechter, p. 41); e.g. P has a misprint at 46, 3, *omnibus*, which B let pass, though A has *ominibus*: in 128, 2 A has *et eque equestri*, where, no doubt, we should read, with Fröhlich, *et qui equestri*, and not omit *eque* with P. B is silent.¹ Other examples of correct readings of A, which were probably those of M, but are not noticed by B, are given by Halm (*op. cit.* 539 ff.), ii. 15, 1, *uniuersa Italia cum id malum* for *cum id malum in uniuersa Italia* of P; 27, 3, *abscisum* for *abscissum*; 28, 3, *ciuis R.* (i.e. Romani) *publicae* (i.e. publice)² for *ciuis Reipublicae*: 33, 4, *infacete* for *infecte* (in margin of P *infacete uel infestive*); 36, 2, *Catullum* for *Catulum*; 64, 4, *pene* (*paene* Burmann and Bentley) for *poena* of P; 120, 1, *ultro* for *ultra*; 130, 2, *Celio* for *Caeli*: cp. also i. 12, 7; ii. 4, 4; 12, 2; 16, 3; 40, 2; 59, 2, 4; 76, 4; 95, 3; 103, 3; 110, 3; 119, 4; 124, 1. Moreover, A, though not giving the right reading, is nearer the truth in the following than P is—ii. 7, 5, *uini* (*uicini* A, *uici* P); 31, 3, *quo scito* (*quos* C A, *quo senatus* COS P); 32, 4, *paene* (*naeue* A, om. P); 86, 2, *Sosium* (*solium* A, *folium* P).

Sometimes even Burer's very words must not be taken as strictly accurate: thus occasionally he is interested in some word, and quotes the context of that word erroneously, e.g. he seems to omit i. 14, 6, *ferme*; ii. 22, 2, *gladiorum*; and in ii. 16, 4, to read *Italicum*: but at i. 14, 6, he is interested in the numeral; at ii. 22, 2, in *immediocri*; and at ii. 16, 4, in *appellarunt*. In one place he almost certainly read M wrongly, ii. 116, 2, where A gives *diligenti quib.*

¹ Kritz thinks that it was so badly written in M that Burer supposed the scribe of M intended to erase it.

² Cp. Pollio ap. Cic. Fam. x. 32, 3, C. R. natus sum.

ius Postumus, and B says "*ex. uet. habet Iul. Postumus*"; but the man's name was Vibius Postumus (see *Fasti Consulares* for 758 A.U.C.), to which the reading of A clearly points, the correct reading being *diligentique Vibius Postumus*. Fechter (p. 47) thinks that another reason why B often fails to notice the difference (attested by A) between M and P is that he did not think it necessary to record a variant when Rhenanus had, in his opinion, plainly emended the text.

The fundamental merit, then, of Prof. Ellis's edition would appear to be the high value he attaches to A; and the justice of this view few will, I think, dispute after reading through the book, and studying the many places in which, by the help of A, Prof. Ellis has restored Velleius. His collation of A has also, in some places, given a more correct statement of what is found in that authority than was previously known (*e.g.* i. 12, 2, where Kritz and Halm say that A has *dicebatur*, but Prof. Ellis records A's reading as *diceretur*).

But no less interesting than the general theory are the many emendations of separate passages which Prof. Ellis has made. In most cases they are of a very high order, *e.g.* ii. 26, 1, *nominis titulis*; 28, 2, *tali quo*; 48, 3, *uolutabundo in libidinibus*; 75, 3, *arma ac manus*; 116, 4, *superesse*; 125, 4, *tamque re*; and many more. The edition is sure to prove the standard English work on Velleius, owing to its completeness and learning. It has a lucid prolegomena, a complete critical apparatus, and nearly fifty pages of a critical commentary. Every page is instructive and suggestive. We might, perhaps, wish that in some passages more of the divinations of previous scholars had been noted; but, doubtless, Prof. Ellis has gone through the vast material given by Kritz, and found all, except those recorded in his own notes, in his opinion, wanting and worthless.

The following are a few points which presented themselves during the reading of Prof. Ellis's edition:—

i. 2, 1, *rixam ncies* B; *rixaincies* P; *rixam ciens* conj. Burer; *rixam iniciens* Rhenanus; *rixam conciens* Ellis. I should prefer the conjecture of Burer, as Velleius often uses *ciere* with words signifying contest: cp. 54, 2; 75, 1; 129, 3. He also uses *conciere*, but with acc. of the people excited, ii. 3, 2; 74, 2.

i. 6, 5. Caranus . . . sextus decimus ab Hercule.

He was really the eleventh, see Wesseling's Diodorus, vol. II., frag. ix., p. 637, so we must read *undecimus*. The corruption possibly arose from XI being mistaken for VI, the X having an abnormally large upper part; then a corrector put an X over the V, and the correcting and corrected numeral became united.¹

i. 9, 1. nam biennio adeo uaria fortuna cum consulibus conflixerat ut plerumque superior *fuert* (so P; fuit AB; foret Acidalius) magnamque partem Graeciae in societatem perduceret.

Prof. Ellis and Novak read *foret*. Perhaps the reading of P is defensible; for the imperf. and perf. subj. in the same consecutive sentence, cp. Caes. *B. G.* vii. 17, 3, *summa difficultate rei frumentariae adfecto exercitu . . . usque eo ut complures dies frumento milites caruerint et pecore . . . extremam famem sustentarent*. We often find the perf. subj. and imperf. in Livy: e.g. v. 45, 4; xxiv. 40, 12. Velleius frequently uses the perf. subj. after an historical tense: e.g. § 6; i. 13, 3; ii. 25, 2; 30, 6; 90, 3.

i. 9, 5. quo anno et Octavi naualis praetoris et Anici regem Illyriorum Gentium ante curram ~~†~~agentium triumphifuerere celebres.

Octavius triumphed on Kal. Dec. 167 B.C., and Anicius on the Quirinalia following (Feb. 17). It was the latter

¹ A curious error in a numeral is found at ii. 10, 2, where VII has become *uti* (VII): cp. *ui* becoming *sex* in Cic. Fam. xv. 4, 9.

who led Gentius in triumph: Liv. xlv. 43, 6; Polyb. xxx. 13 (14): but as the triumphs of Octavius and Anicius were often mentioned together (e.g. Diod. xxxi. 10, *πρῶτος μὲν Ἀνίκιος καὶ Ὀκταβίος ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἑκάτερος ἐθριάμβευσεν*, each had a one-day triumph, while that of Paullus lasted three days), Velleius may have supposed that they had their triumphs on the same day. *Praetor naualis* was probably not a technical term; but praetors often, especially in that period, commanded the fleet as subordinates of the consuls: cp. Liv. xxxv. 23, 6; xxxvi. 2, 14.

i. 10, 1. Per idem tempus, cum Antiochus Epiphanes . . . tum (so P; cum A) regem Syriae Ptolemaeum puerum Alexandriae obsideret.

If we transpose *tum . . . Syriae* to follow *puerum*, the reading *regem* need not be altered to *rex*. Lower Syria, or Coele Syria, concerning which the war arose between Antiochus and Ptolemy in 171 B.C., was held, at least nominally,¹ at this time by Egypt, having come into possession of that power as the dowry of Cleopatra, who married Ptolemy Epiphanes V.: cp. Holm's *Grecian History*, iv. p. 383, Eng. Trans.; Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, 331 ff.; Liv. xlii. 29, 5. Accordingly, Ptolemy Philometor might be called King of Syria. Possibly *κοίλης* was omitted, as *οἱ τοὺν βροτοὶ εἶσι* is omitted in i. 5, 3.

Most scholars admit transpositions in their attempts to restore Velleius; see, for example, Kritz, *Proleg.* cxiv.; Ruhnken on ii. 13, 3; Mommsen on ii. 68, 2; and especially Madvig on i. 12, 1, and ii. 20, 5. In the discussion on the latter passage, Madvig (A. C. ii. pp. 301, 302) gives many examples. Perhaps the following transpositions should also be made:—78, 2, *per haec tempora* to follow *otium*; 89, 1, *quo occursu et fauore*.

¹ On the ambiguous position of Coele Syria at this time see Polybius xxviii. 1.

i. 11, 2. Q. Metellus praetor, cui ex uirtute Macedonici nomen inditum ferat.

We should read <co>nomen: cp. i. 13, 2; ii. 5, 1; 10, 2 11, 2; 15, 3. For loss of co- cp. 35, 5; also A in ii. 14, 2; and Prof. Ellis's admirable emendation in 50, 1.¹ As to, the corrupt *erat*, the simplest alteration is to *est*, *et* (*ē et* was corrupted into *erat*: cp. for confusion of *a* and *e*, *legerat* for *legeret* in 103, 2); but the passage is still very uncertain.

i. 12, 2. Carthaginem excidere.

So AP. Halm and Prof. Ellis read *excindere*, no doubt the more natural word. But Velleius seems to affect *excidere*: cp. ii. 4, 3 (*excisa Carthagine*); 6, 4 (*Fre-gellas exciderat*); 12, 4; 122, 2: cp. Cic. *Sest.* 35; *Phil.* 4, 13, *Carthaginem exciderunt*: also *De Senect.* 18.

i. 14, 8. Aefulum A; Aesulum P.

It is very doubtful if *Aefulum* is right. That *arx* (Hor. *Carm.*, iii. 29, 6: Liv. xxvi. 9, 9) was probably close to Tibur. Mommsen (*R. M. W.*, p. 332, note 113), and Marquardt (*St. V.*, i. p. 39) read *Aesis* (in Umbria) in this passage. Hülsen, in Pauly-Wissowa (*s. v.* Aefulae) says that the colony referred to by Velleius can have nothing to say to Aefulae, and (*s. v.* Aesis) suggests *Asculum*.

Possibly *Ausculum* (in Apulia), *C. I. L.*, ix. p. 62, or *Aeculanum* (cp. ii. 16, 2), which is, perhaps, called Αἰκαλον in Dionysius, cp. *C. I. L.*, ix. p. 98, though this is doubtful. There is not, I think, any such place as Aesulum.

i. 15, 4. For "Scolacium Minervium" (Squillace), cp. *C. I. L.*, x. 103, where it is called "Colonia Minervia Nervia Augusta Scolacium." For "Tarentum Neptunia," cp. Hor. *Carm.*, i. 28, 29, *Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti*.

¹ Sometimes co- is wrongly added in MSS: cp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 57, 1.
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i. 16, 3. nouam comicam Menander aequalesque eius aetatis magis quam operis Philemo ac Diphilus . . . inuenere.

Prof. Ellis brackets *comicam*, but suggests <*uiam*> *comicam*. Perhaps <*uim*> *comicam*. Prof. Ellis is right in rejecting the insertion of *non* before *aetatis*, which was proposed by Madvig.

i. 17, 5. huius ergo recedentis mq. seculum ingeniorum similitudines congregantesque se . . . causas cum semper requiro.

So B. Prof. Ellis reads *huius ergo recedentisque in saeculum ingeniorum similitudinis congregantisque se . . . causas cum saepe* (so Madvig rightly for *semper*) *requiro*; but suggests *referentis*, or *reficientis*, taking these words with *se*, "returning," or "reviving." I think *recedentis* is probably right: cp. § 6. Possibly we might read *huius ergo recedentis inque seculum ingeniorum similitudinis congregantis quasi se . . . causas cum saepe requiro*. Intellects go in and come out like a revolving light. "I cannot," says Velleius, "explain the cause of this similarity of genius declining (cp. § 6), and again massing itself, as it were, into one age." For *quasi* after its word, but within its phrase, cp. Cic. *De Orat.* ii. 236, *regio quasi ridiculi*.

i. 18, 3. quae urbes et initialia talium studiorum fuere steriles.

So B. A has *in Italia*. Prof. Ellis ingeniously reads *et in imitamina*. This is rather a poetical word, but no better emendation has been proposed, most edd. introducing *aliae* or *talium*, or both. The words look very like a gloss which has crept into the text. Novak supposes dittography. Velleius can hardly have dragged in here a reference to the Greek colonies in Italy.

Whether glosses and interpolations occur in Velleius is worth considering. They are certainly not numerous. I think there is a certain one in 129, 3, *consiliorum suorum*; and a very probable one at 48, 4, *uoluptatibus et*

libidinibus. Novak sees glosses (perhaps rightly) at ii. 1, 5; 67, 4. In 38, 5, *regibus* looks like a gloss; it is omitted by A, and bracketed by Prof. Ellis.

ii. 1, 5. posterulum A.

This form is rightly retained by Prof. Ellis: cp. Caesar *B. G.* vii. 88, 3, and Neue-Wagener, ii. 825.

ii. 6, 3. Nihil quietum denique in eodem statu.

Prof. Ellis excellently adds <neque> after *denique*.

ii. 6, 6. armatos (armatus AP) ad pugnam ciens.

Kritz and Halm read *armatus ac pugnam ciens*. This reading I would prefer. If we retain *ad* of AP we should alter to *conciens*: see note above on i. 2, 1. It is not, of course, to be supposed that other writers do not use *ciere* with persons: e.g. Tac. *Hist.*, i. 84; ii. 29; iii. 62.

ii. 9, 3. Clara etiam per idem aeui spatium fuere ingenia in togatis Afrani, in tragoediis Pacui atque Acci, usque in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem euctis (B; eius aetatis P; etatis A), magnumque inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum, adeo quidem ut in illis limae in hoc paene plus uideatur fuisse sanguinis, celebre et Lucili nomen fuit.

This passage has been virtually emended by Madvig and Prof. Ellis, who put a comma instead of a full stop at *sanguinis*. If it would not be too violent an assault on a difficult passage we might suggest to read "*quibus* (for *usque*) in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem euctis (or *elatis*, as Prof. Ellis suggests) magnumque inter hos ipsos *facientibus* (for *facientis*) operi suo locum,—adeo quidem ut in illis limae in hoc paene plus uideatur fuisse sanguinis—celebre et Lucili nomen." The dramatists had imitated the Greeks, and fairly won a place among them; but even among these writers, and those of the

age who looked to Greece for their models, Lucilius, their opponent, was famous; though both had their faults, the dramatists exaggerated Greek finish, Lucilius, in his full-bloodedness, lacked Greek moderation.

ii. 11, 1. Marius natus *equestri* loco.

Voss conjectured *agresti*; and this is adopted by Kritz and Halm. Heinsius suggested *rurestri*, a word much affected by Apuleius. However, Madvig (*Kleine philologische Schriften*, pp. 526-8), Pluygers (in *Mnemosyne*, ix. 24), and Prof. Ellis (*Hermathena*, xxiii. p. 6) defend *equestri*. Prof. Ellis says that *natus agresti loco* can only mean "born in a country place"; and Madvig holds that *agresti loco natus* is as impossible as *urbano loco natus* would be; for *loco*, in this sense, is joined only with an adjective that directly indicates rank and position. He further urges that Marius must have been something above a mere peasant, or Scipio would not have invited him to his table (Plut. *Mar.*, 3), and Marius would not have had a horse and mule (*ib.* 13). That he was said to have been a *δημοσιώτης* (Diodorus, ed. Wess., p. 607) would also seem to point towards his having been of equestrian rank. The grammatical argument has much weight, though in Tac. *Ann.*, xiv. 53, 5, *equestri et provinciali loco natus* (said of Seneca), *provinciali loco*, "of a provincial station," would seem similar to *agresti loco*, "of a peasant station." As to the other points, it is probable that the exceptional military capacity of Marius gained him exceptional privileges; and his ever having been a *publicanus* is very doubtful. But when scholars like Madvig and Ellis deny the possibility of *agresti loco natus*, it would require strong arguments to support it. The arguments adduced are: (1) universal tradition represented Marius as sprung from the lowest stratum of the people: see the many passages quoted in Prof. Mayor's note on Juvenal viii. 245, and

compare Vell. ii. 128, 3, *C. Marium ignotae originis*, shortly after *equestri loco natum Sp. Caruilium*¹ and Dio Cass. (*Frag.*, 87, 2, ed. Melber, p. 333) παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συρφετώδους, ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ ἐπεφύκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καθαιρέτης.² However, his birth's invidious bar and low estate may have been accentuated unduly in order to point a contrast to the eminence afterwards attained by the divinely-gifted man. (2) If Velleius had wished to say that Marius was born of municipal equestrian rank he would probably have used some qualifying word, *quantum, quidem*, or the like, to mark the opposition to *hirtus atque horridus*; or added some word signifying "provincial," like *municipalis eques* in Juvenal, viii. 238. Still, though these arguments might lead us to defend *agresti*, if such was the tradition, they are not strong enough to necessitate emendation.

ii. 11, 2. meritum <eius fidei> uirtutique.

A supplement of some sort is necessary. I should prefer <*victoriæ eius*>, as accounting better for the loss, and as the triumph must of necessity have been due to his victory. See, for the conditions of a triumph, Mr. Rushforth in the *Dict. of Antiquities*, ii., p. 895.

ii. 12, 4. Amplius cl. milia hostium priore ac postero die ab eo trucidatis.

So AP. Kritz reads *trucidati*, perhaps rightly. However, there may have been a similarity between *-a* and *-is* in M, so that we should read *trucidata* with Ruhnken.

¹ Pluygers holds that *ignotae originis* and *equestri loco natum*, are variations of the same idea, "low-born," i.e. non-noble.

² The passage in Val. Max. vi. 9, 14: *Arpinatibus honoribus iudicatus inferior . . . ex illo Mario tam humili*

Arpini, tam ignobili Romæ, tam fastidiendo candidato ille Marius euasit qui Africam subegit, may imply that Marius was a possible recipient of office, and accordingly probably of equestrian rank, but yet was rejected by his fellow-citizens.

In 13, 3, Prof. Ellis alters *cogitata* to *cogitatis*, which makes excellent sense, and is less ill-sounding than Halm's *quam quamvis optime ab ipso cogitata*.¹ Ruhnken's alteration of *quam eius* (which P reads for *quamvis* of A) to *eius quam* is also attractive: see note on transpositions above, p. 378.

ii. 14, 1. (Luius Drusus) in area domus suae cultello percussus.

A has *atrio*. P *atrio*. The superscribed reading of A as being the more difficult is rightly adopted. When Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.*, 16, says that Drusus was killed *intra penates suos*, that need not be taken in a strictly literal sense, for it is much more likely that he spoke to the people *before* his house than in his hall.

ii. 16, 3. Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret Cosamque occuparet.

Cosam is to be retained, and not altered to *Compsam* with Voss. It is not the famous town in Etruria, but a Campanian town: cp. Liv., *Epit.* to xiv, *Coloniæ deductæ sunt Posidonia et Cosa*; xxvii. 10, 8, et Paestani et *Cosani*; *C. I. L.*, ix. p. 88, note, and x. p. 18, note. The names, however, seem to have been easily confused, as in Cæs. *B. C.*, iii. 22, 2, we must read *Compsam in agro Hirpino* (for *Cosa in agro Thurino*): cp. Vell. ii. 68, 3, and in Pliny, *H. N.*, ii. 147, iuxta castellum *Capsanum* is a mistake for *Compsanum*, which Sillig reads.

ii. 16, 4. Caput imperi sui Corfinium legerant quod appellarent Italicam.

AB give *appellarent*, which Prof. Ellis rightly retains against Orelli, Kritz, and Halm. The revolted had determined to call their new capital Italica, to mark their claim to have Italian and not Roman government; and the town they fixed on to give the name of Italica to was Corfinium.

¹ Cp. *ipsis* for *ipse* in Tac. *Ann.*, ii. 11, 4.

ii. 20, 2. Ad exercitum . . . seditione . . . interfectus est.

So P: ^{ab}*ad exercitū* A. Read *ab exercitu*: cp. 24, 5, Cinna seditione orta *ab exercitu* interemptus est.

ii. 22, 2. neque licentia gladiatorum in mediocri saeuitum, sed excelsissimae quoque atque eminentissimae ciuitatis uiri uariis suppliciorum generibus adfecti.

If emendation is required the best is *in mediocris* of Acidalius, s dropping out owing to the succeeding s of *saeuitum*. Velleius seems to be fond of *saeuire in*: cp. i. 10, 1; ii. 7, 4; 13, 2; 28, 4; 74, 4; 85, 3; 120, 6. But perhaps *in mediocri* = *mediocriter*: cp. *in facili esse*, Liv., iii. 8, 9; 65, 11, and Dräger, § 24.

In the following clause it is just possible that we should read *ciuilitatis*, 'constitutional conduct': cp. Suet., *Aug.*, 51, *Claud.*, 35, the rare word having led to corruption. Velleius uses *excelsissimus* for little more than "very great": cp. i. 6, 3 (Sparta) *excelsissime floruit*.

ii. 25, 4. Post uictoriam †qua demendes† montem Tifata cum C. Norbano concurrerat Sulla gratis Dianae . . . soluit.

Prof. Ellis ingeniously alters the corrupt words into *quia de meridie sub montem Tifata*, and supposes that Velleius got this detail from the Commentaries of Sulla. But there is less point in mentioning the time of day at which the victory was won than the exact spot on which Sulla repaid his vow to Diana. So that I incline to agree with Gelenius, Orelli, and Kritz, in reading *qua descendens*. That Velleius was a Capuan is shown by Mommsen, *C. I. L.*, x. p. 367, note; and we may, accordingly, suppose that he was interested and minute in respect of the associations of the locality (cp. i. 7, 3, 4; ii. 81, 2, for minute details about Campania). The rare name of Velleius appears as a "magister fani Dianae Tifatinae" in the age of the Antonines, *C. I. L.*, x. 3924.

ii. 26, 1. Deinde consules Carbo tertium et C. Marius septiens consulis filius, annos natus xxvi., uir animi magis quam aevi paterni, multa fortiterque molitus neque usquam inferior *nomini titulis*.

These last two words are the brilliant restorations of Prof. Ellis for *nomine stilis* of A. P gives *consulis*, which B probably thought a certain emendation, and so did not notice any variant (cp. above, p. 376). For *titulis* cp. 27, 5, *tanta patris imagine*.

I should regard *aevi*, not as "fortune in life," with Prof. Ellis, but as "age" at which father and son attained the consulship. The elder Marius was about 50, the younger 26. The young man had his father's spirit, but not his years, which would have curbed his impetuosity.

ii. 27, 5. Utcunque cecidit, hodieque tanta patris imagine non obscuratur *†* eius memoria.

So AB; *eius* P. Possibly *iunentis*, to make an antithesis to *patris*. For *hodieque*, "even unto this day," cp. 25, 4; 61, 3; 81, 2; 98, 1.

ii. 28, 3. In qua ciuitate petulantis conuici iudicium *†* *historiarum* ex alto *†* redditur.

Prof. Ellis suggests *histrioni iniuriarum*; but it is doubtful if *histrion* has any place here, as the allusion would seem to be to the XII Tables, Table VIII, *si quis occentauisset siue carmen condidisset quod infamiam faceret flagitumue alteri*. The best emendation is, perhaps, that of Pithoeus, adopted by Lipsius and Mommsen, *ex albo*: cp. Liv. i. 32, 2; Cic. *De Orat.*, ii. 52. Still we should like an expression which indicated the *long existence* of the law of libel. Could it possibly be *historiarum ex alto redditur* (or *repetitur*), "can be adduced from the depth of recorded time"? or could *historiarum* be a gloss?

ii. 30, 6. M. Crassum mox reipublicae omni (A; omnium P) principem.

Perhaps *paene* for *omni*: cp. 44, 2, “(Crassus) principatum solus adsequi non poterat.” The *p* was lost after *reip.*, and *-aene* corrupted into *omni*. For another corruption of *paene* cp. 32, 4.

ii. 31, 3. quos \bar{C} paene A; quo senatus COS paene P.

The reference is to the Gabinian law, so that P is a conjecture. A seems to lead to *quo scito*, which Halm reads after Schegk. Perhaps <*pl*> was lost before *paene*.

ii. 32, 1. Cn. Pompeium sed nimium iam †liber aeret† (AB; liber aere P) reipublicae.

Kritz seems to think that *-ret* or *-re* is due to ditto-graphy, and reads liberae reipublicae. Prof. Ellis reads liberae *fieri* reipublicae. Perhaps liberae *fore* reipublicae.

ii. 36, 2. Hortensium †sanequam Crassum †Catonem.

That *sanequam* is a proper name corrupted is certain, as it comes in the middle of a list of names; and the correction of Aldus *Antonium* is almost certain. Antonius and Crassus are generally mentioned in connexion with one another, e.g. Cic. *Brut.*, 143, 186, and Teuffel-Schwabe, § 152. The correction of *Catonem* to *Cottam* (also due to Aldus) is necessary, as Cotta and Sulpicius nearly always go together: see the many passages quoted by Kritz and Teuffel-Schwabe, § 153, 5. It is not the least interesting part of Velleius's work, that he considers literary men as deserving of mention in his history.

ii. 40, 1. Prof. Ellis says, “Valde dubito num Albanorum regio Albania uocanda fuerit”: yet cp. Pliny, *H. N.*, vi. 39, “Flumina per *Albaniam* decurrunt in mare”: also vi. 29, where the form is used twice.

ii. 41, 2. Prof. Ellis is right in adopting the order of A, *et cibo et somno*; yet the order of P, *et somno et cibo*, is also

found in good authors: Cic. *Sest.*, 138 (somno et conuiuuiis); Tac. *Germ.*, 15.

As to *diem et noctem*, and the reverse order, one is about as common as the other, though the former is the more natural order (Quintil., ix. 4, 23). Caesar puts *nox* first in *B. C.*, iii. 11, 1; cp. *B. G.*, v. 38, 1, and i. 38, 7. For examples of *nox* first, other than those quoted by Prof. Ellis, cp. Ennius ap Cic. *Sen.*, 1, 1; Vergil, *Aen.*, vi. 127; viii. 94; ix. 488; Lucr. ii. 12 (= iii. 62); Mart. x. 58, 11; Cic. *Arch.*, 29; Liv. v. 19, 11; xxi. 11, 5; xxxii. 15, 2.

ii. 47, 2. †Septimo ferme anno Caesar morabatur in Galliis, cum medium iam ex inuidia †Ponti et Camiliae† coherentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia, uxor Magni, decessit.

Septimo should, as Laurent says, be *quarto* (VII = IIII). The death of Julia took place in 54 B.C., and Caesar went to Gaul in 58 B.C. This kind of corruption is frequent in the correspondence of Brutus and Cicero; cp. O. E. Schmidt, "De epistulis et a Cassio et ad Cassium datis," Lips. 1877, pp. 39, 40.

There can be no doubt that *Ponti et* is, as Lipsius says, a corruption of *potentiae*. For *Camiliae* Prof. Ellis conjectures *cum illa* (sc. *potentia*) *aegre coherentis*, the latter word agreeing with *concordiae*; and that this is possibly right, and certainly brilliant, few will deny. It may be, however, that we should read, *Ex inuidia potentiae cum alio coherentis*, "owing to the jealousy of power shared with another" (cp. 33, 3, of Pompey's inability to bear an equal). It was a commonplace, and especially applicable to Caesar and Pompeius, that "Nulla fides regni sociis omnisque potestas Impatiens consortis erit" (Lucan, i. 92). Translate, "when Julia died, who, as pledge of reciprocal harmony, stood between Pompeius and Caesar (so jealous is power that is shared with another)."

ii. 48, 4. Cuius (Curionis) animo [†]uoluptatibus uel libidinibus[†] neque opes ullae neque cupiditates sufficere possent.

If these words are not a gloss, nothing could be better than Prof. Ellis's *uolutabundo in libidinibus*, which is a distinct improvement on *uolutanti in suis uelut libidinibus* of Heinsius.¹ The subjunctive shows that we must read *cuius* for *huius* of AP.

ii. 49, 4. This very difficult passage looks as if its cure depended on the addition of a clause of similar tenor to one of those expressed, and I suggest the following with some hesitation :—

Ut deinde spretis omnibus quae Caesar postulauisset tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere prouinciae, *<titulum ne retineret prouinciae>* priuatusque *<ut>* in urbem ueniret et se in petitione consulatus suffragiis populi Romani committeret, decreuere.

AP read *uenire* and *committere*. Perhaps the loss of the words supplied caused *ueniret* and *committeret* to be assimilated to the mood of *retinere*. For *<ut>* added before *in*, cp. 52, 4. The *ne* in A before *titulum* is due to dittography of the *-ne* in *legione*.

ii. 50, 1. Qui conuenerant.

So Prof. Ellis, admirably; *qui uenerant* AP. For *con-*omitted, cp. note above on i. 11, 2.

ii. 52, 4. Neque prius neque antiquius quidquam habuit quam *<ut>* (add. Gelenius) in omnis partis, ut militari uerbo ex consuetudine utar, dimitteret.

Prof. Ellis reads *incolumis partis*, and takes the military word to be *partis*. But it does not seem to be an essentially military word; it is just as much a civil word (cp. 20, 5; Cic. *Caël.*, 13; Nepos, *Att.*, 6, 1; Sall. *Jug.*, 41, 1), signifying

¹ Heinsius also proposes to omit *suis uelut*.

"party," "side," and is elsewhere used in this sense by Velleius, without any apology for it. I should be inclined to adhere to AP. The military word is *dimittere*, to discharge from service: cp. for example, Caes. *B. C.*, i. 32, 4; *Bell. Afr.*, 54, 4. Caesar's object was to discharge, or disband (if a military term may be used), the enemy's army on all sides (*i.e.* thoroughly). *In omnis partis dimittere* would seem to be capable of a double meaning—(1) the usual one, "to send on all sides," for a special purpose; (2) "to disband on all sides," *i.e.* effectually. For *in omnis partis* = "in every respect," cp. Cic. *Att.*, xi. 6, 2, and elsewhere in these epistles.

ii. 54, 2. Nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique ^{uiuo} iubae (so A; Iubae P) nomine.

Lipsius and Prof. Ellis read *uiuebat*. Perhaps *uiue<nte>* these letters having been lost before *noē* (= nomine).

ii. 58, 1. Quo anno id id patrauere facinus.

So A. Prof. Ellis reads *id ita*. Perhaps *ii id*; or more probably it is a mere dittography of A or R, as P has only one *id*, and B is silent.

ii. 60, 4. Sestertium septiens miliens . . . occupatum ab Antonio actorum eiusdem insertis falsis ciuitatibusque corrupti commentarii (Ruhnken; -is -is AP) atque omnia pretio *temperata*.

Heinsius brilliantly suggested *temerata*, and the same alteration is made by Perizonius in Val. Max., ix. 5, 3, maritalis lecti blanditiis statum reip. *temperando* (of Pompeius begging off from the judges his father-in-law, Scipio), which Kritz quotes for *temperare* = "to administer." The emendation of Heinsius is better than that of Cornelissen *emptitata*.

That Prof. Ellis is right in supposing that a word of similar termination to *ciuitatibus* has been lost between

it and *-que* seems certain. He supplies *immunitatibus*, comparing Cic. *Phil.*, v. 11, regna ciuitatis *immunitatis* in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. We may add *Phil.* ii. 92. I should prefer *regibus* as more coordinate with *ciuitatibus*: cp. Dio Cass., xliv. 53, τῶν τε δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἡργυρολόγησε: Appian, *B. C.*, iii. 5, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς.

ii. 64, 4. Lepidus deinde a senatu hostis iudicatus est ut ante fuerat Antonius.

This ought to go at the end of 63; or perhaps better after 63, § 2, if chronology is to be maintained unimpaired.

ii. 66, 1. For *sibi nuntiare*, "to bring up before their minds," Vahlen (*Hermes*, xvii. 277), and Sauppe before him, compared Quintil., xii. 11, 10: qui primum *renuntient sibi* quanta sit humani ingeni uis . . . tum cogitent; Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.*, 6, 1: Potest et illa res a luctu te prohibere nimio, si *tibi ipsi renuntiaueris* nihil horum quae facis posse subduci. We should read, I think, *sibi renuntiare*.

ii. 67, 3. Ne quid ulli sanctum relinqueretur, uelut (Gelenius: uel AP) *in dotem* inuitamentumque sceleris Antonius L. Caesarem auunculum, Lepidus Paulum fratrem proscripserant.

The word *dotem* seems a little strange. Bothe conjectured *cotem*. Perhaps for *in dotem* we should read *indicem*, "public evidence." Antony and Lepidus set the example of unnatural cruelty. For *o* and *i* confused: cp. *in otio* in A for *initio*, 38, 4, and often.

ii. 68, 2. (Caelius) nequitque senatus * * et auctoritate consulum deterri.

In 75, 3, Prof. Ellis has most excellently restored *arma ac manus* from *arma* A, *arma* nus* P. The original was *arma^{acma} nus*. Somewhat similarly here, I think, the

original was *senatus* <*maiestate*> *et auctoritate*. A copyist at first left out *et auctoritate* owing to the similarity of its termination to that of *maiestate*, and afterwards added it above the line, thus *senatus* ^{*et auctoritate*} *maiestate*; with the result that it extruded *maiestate*. For *maiestas senatus*, cp. 89, 3; 126, 2. Madvig (*A. C.*, ii. 302) supposes transposition, and reads *senatus et consulum auctoritate*.

ii. 87, 1. in morsu sanieque (sanieque APB) eius expers muliebris metus spiritum reddidit (Cleopatra).

Prof. Ellis well retains *sanieque* of Pontanus. But there does not seem to be any need of *in*, which is not appropriate with *sanie*. Perhaps *inmorsu*, "by its biting into her and its poison." *Inmorsus* (subst.) does not occur elsewhere as far as I know. For a rare word like *inmorsu*: cp. *adhortatu*, 89, 4.

ii. 87, 2. Sext. Pompeium ab eodem uictum idem Antonius . . . etiam spiritu priuauit.

Perhaps a *Caesare deuictum*: cp. Scheffer's emendation, *Caesarum* for *eorum* in 114, 5.

ii. 88, 2. quippe uixit angusti clauī pene contentus.

Possibly *tunica*, the regular word. If *-ca* was lost before *cō-*, *tuni-* might have been altered into *paene*, a word which occurs so often in Velleius.

ii. 90, 1. Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis ciuilibus coalescentibusque reipublicae membris, etiam *coaluerunt* (et coram aliero AP) quae tam longa armorum series lacerauerat. Delmatia <annos> **xx** et cc rebellis ad certam confessionem pacata est imperi.

This very attractive emendation of Bergk and Prof. Ellis for the corrupt words of AP seems to labour under the objection that we want an antithesis to *reipublicae*, something like *erat cura alienorum* (or *aliorum*). For *alienus* cp. 15, 2. After *annos* add *iam* (*iā*) to account for the omission.

ii. 95, 2. Multis urbium castellorum oppugnationibus.

For other examples in Velleius of this asyndeton bimembre so common in Cicero's epistles, cp. 100, 3, *luxuria libidine*: 116, 4. Prof. Ellis rightly does not add *-que* with Orelli and Halm, or *et* with Kritz.

ii. 99, 4. Legatique in transmarinas profecti prouincias uisendi eius gratia [†]ad quem[†] conuenientes semper [†]priuatos, illa[†] maiestas priuata nunquam fuit.

The first corruption seems hopeless. Perhaps *undique* of Heinsius is the least violent. Kritz has *ad eum*. Prof. Ellis reads *tanquam ad principem*, which makes excellent sense, but seems too extensive an addition.

Aldus corrects the other corruption by reading "priuato, *si illa . . . unquam fuit*": but it would be simpler to read priuato (*sed illa maiestas priuata nunquam fuit*). The abbreviated form of *sed* is *§*.

ii. 100, 5. Quas (Orelli; quasi AP) cuiuslibet uxore uiolata poenas pependissent, pependere, cum Caesaris filiam et Neronis uiolassent coniugem.

We should read, I think, *quas in*, and take *in* = "in the case of": cp. Caes. *B. G.*, vii. 21, 1, armis concrepat quod facere *in eo* consuerunt cuius orationem approbant. This usage is frequent in Cicero's epistles. Many examples in Dräger, § 298, 6.

ii. 101, 1. Cum C. Caesar ante aliis prouinciis [†]adsidendum[†] obitis in Syriam missus.

The usual correction adopted is that of Lipsius *ad uisendum*; and this no doubt makes good sense. Possibly *ad discendum*: cp. Cic. *Rep.*, i. 6, cum ipsi *discendi* aut *uisendi* causa maria tramittant; *ib.* 16, audisse te credo Platonem primum in Aegyptum *discendi* causa . . . contendisse.

ii. 102, 2, Artageram AP: Artagera (Muretus from Zonaras, 539 D. Ἀρτάγεραι γὰρ τὰ Ἀρτάγεραι κατέχων). This latter form is found in Strabo xi. 529; but *Artagiram* in *C. I. L.*, ix. 5290. The town perhaps had a double declension, like so many towns in Western Asia: cp. Lydda and Lystra in the Acts of the Apostles, ix. 32. 38; xiv. 6, 8; and Limyra below.

ii, 102, 3. Diu de re luctatus A; Deinde reluctatus P.

The phrase Velleius uses in such cases elsewhere is *luctari cum*, 63, 3; 86, 2. Possibly he also used it here, *Deinde secum luctatus*, and *re-* is a relic of *se*, *cū-* being lost as *con-* in 50, 1, perhaps owing to the general similarity of the next letters *lu-*.

ii. 106, 3. et eadem (Kritz, Ellis; eodem AP) mira felicitate et cura ducis . . . classis . . . flumine Albi subuecta <cum> plurimarum gentium uictoria . . . exercitui se iunxit.

I think *eodem* should be retained. It means "to the same place," *i.e.* to the Elbe (§ 2) and owing to the long intervening clauses that idea is repeated in *flumine Albi*. After *subuecta*, Prof. Ellis inserts *cum*. Perhaps *a*, "after," of Acidalius, is better.

ii. 111, 2. Itaque ut praesidium militum respublica ab Augusto ducem in bellum poposcit Tiberium.

Kritz tries unsuccessfully to defend *militum*. Lipsius reads *ultimum*, and this is adopted by Halm and Prof. Ellis. It certainly gives a strong sense. A word nearer to the tradition would be *limitum*, "frontiers": cp. 120, 2.

ii. 111, 4. Quantis prudentia ducis oportunitatibus furentis eorum uires uniuersas euasimus, elusimus partibus!

A reads *euasimus*. Probably *eius imus* is *elusimus* (cp. Fechter, p. 47); and Prof. Ellis has done good service in retaining both verbs. But I think *partibus* is questionable. There does not seem to be any opposition of *uniuersas*

and *partibus* as in 38, 1. The opposition rather would seem to be between escaping the full force of the enemy by well-arranged plans and by momentary stratagems. Perhaps, then, read *elusimusque artibus*: *q* and *p* were confused (see Prof. Ellis' crit. note on 116, 1, p. 183, quae positus A, praepositus P).

ii. 12, 3. Neque fuit facientibus copiam pugnandi . . . ausa congredi.

The general alteration of *ut* is to *cum*. Better *uel*.

ii. 114, 3. Admonitio frequens finerat et castigatio, uindicta amarissima.

That the last word is *rarissima* (Rhenanus) or *autem rarissima* is almost certain. Kritz approves of *interdum* for *inerat*. I would suggest *sincera et castigatio*: cp. Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 6, 1, Quid ergo? Non aliquando *castigatio* necessaria est? Quidni? Sed haec *sincera* cum ratione. Non enim nocet sed medetur specie nocendi. For *admonitio* opposed to *castigatio*, cp. Seneca, *Epp.* 94, 44.

ii. 116, 4. Silianus . . . quem uirum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est in e<0> (me A) nihil non optimo cui simplicissimo duci <su>peresse (perisset BPA) praeferens.

So Prof. Ellis, brilliantly. He explains *praeferens* "of a definite admirer of Silianus who, in some published work, had alleged (*praeferens*) that his hero possessed every quality of an excellent citizen and single-hearted general in more than sufficient measure" (*Hermathena*, xxiii. p. 22).

ii. 127, 2. Etenim magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent, neque in paruo fpaucitas ministeriaf defecit, interestque rei publicae quod usu necessarium est, dignitate eminere utilitatemque auctoritate muniri.

Possibly we should read *paruitas ministerii* or (*ministeriaria*) *defecit*. There is never any lack of qualified and

suitable assistants for any work, be it great or small. In the next clause should we not read *dignitatem*, and put a comma at *rei publicae*? It is good for the State, what experience proves necessary,¹ that men of dignity should be at the head of affairs, and that they should support by their authority their subordinate officials who do useful, but not striking, work.

ii. 127, 4. Uirum seueritatis laetissimae.

We need not alter *seueritatis*, "strictness," to *serenitatis*. The sketch of Sejanus is in a series of oxymora. He was strict, but always quite pleasant.

ii. 128, 2. M. Catonem, nouum etiam Tusculo, urbis inquilinum.

Add <in> before *Tusculo*.

¹Cp. Shaksp. *Troilus*, i. 3, 101: the ladder to all high designs, the
"O when degree is shaken, which is enterprise is sick."

L. C. PURSER.

MR. E. A. W. BUDGE'S EDITION OF THE LIVES
OF MABÂ' ŠĒYŌN AND GABRA KRĒSTÔS.

BY special request I have undertaken to write a short review of the above magnificent volume recently edited by Mr. Budge. This volume is the first of two volumes or of a series of volumes of Ethiopic texts and translations which are to appear in quick succession. The cost of this series, which must be enormous, is borne by Lady Meux, who has already contributed munificently to other projects by the same editor. Whether Lady Meux has been wise in such expenditure, the reader can determine for himself after the perusal of this review.

The work before us is a small folio¹ bound in full morocco. The binding is a careful copy of that of the original MS. The paper is the best of its kind, and the work of the printer leaves nothing to be desired. But the chief feature of this *édition de luxe*, which also constitutes its chief value, has yet to be mentioned, and this is its excellent plates and coloured pictures, which represent several centuries of Ethiopic art. We have at the beginning a short account of Ethiopic art accompanied with thirty-three illustrations. After this follow the English translations of the lives of Mabâ' ŠĒyŏn and Gabra

¹ The book is of ponderous weight—over fifteen pounds. This is due to Mr. Budge's editorial luxuriousness. He prints very little on a page, and leaves every other page a blank. Since these blank pages disfigure the book,

the editor cannot have had the artistic appearance in view. A Semitic scholar has just suggested that the vacant pages, which constitute half the book, have been considerably left by Mr. Budge for the corrections of his readers.

Krēstōs accompanied by ninety-two plates, which reproduce the coloured pictures of a MS. in Lady Meux's collection. These reproductions are beyond all praise, and the learned world cannot but be grateful to Mr. Budge and Lady Meux for this introduction to Ethiopic art.

When, however, we pass from the work of the printer to that of the scholar, our feelings of gratitude gradually change to emotions of a different character. For as we examine the Ethiopic text and its translation, we experience first surprise, then astonishment, and finally speechless amazement. The grounds for such a change in our emotional attitude will become obvious from the following short examination of Mr. Budge's Ethiopic text and translation of the lives of the two Abyssinian Saints. In order to form a just appreciation of this work it will not be necessary to review it at length. Its scholarship is more or less of the same character throughout. Accordingly we shall confine our attention to seven pages or so out of the sixty-three of the Ethiopic text. These pages are not specially selected on the ground of their textual excellence or depravity, but simply with a view to represent fairly and faithfully the editor's knowledge of Ethiopic. They are accordingly chosen as follows:—Four pages of the seven selected for criticism constitute the first four pages of the Life of Mabá' Šěyôn (pp. 1-4 of text). The next two pages were selected at random from the close of this life (pp. 28-29 of text), and the seventh page from the opening of the life of Gabra Krēstōs (p. 35 of text). Hence, since five out of the seven pages form the actual beginnings of the two lives, Mr. Budge should be here at his best if anywhere. We have not, however, observed that the scholarship of these portions differs substantially from that of the rest.

Our criticism will address itself first to the text, and secondly to the translation.

THE TEXT.—The text is very inaccurate. On page i. of his introduction to the Life of Mabá' Šĕyŏn, Mr. Budge appears to attribute such inaccuracies to his MS. Thus he writes:—"The words of the Ethiopic text are full of peculiarities of spelling, and in the printed copy of the text, I have, with the exception of a few misprints, given them just as I found them."

I cannot agree with this statement. No MS. could present so corrupt a text as that before us. The bulk of the corrupt forms cannot be traced to any other source than the editor. Mr. Budge is ignorant of the orthography of the most common words. In his last work on the *Contendings of the Apostles* he misspelt on the first 150 pages of his text one of the commonest words in the Ethiopic language, *i.e.* "all." What should we think of a scholar who undertook to edit a French text and could not write the word "tout" correctly, or of a Greek scholar who, in editing a Greek text, spelt $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ hundreds of times as $\pi\epsilon\varsigma$? Mr. Budge, however, has now learnt to write the word "all" in Ethiopic. But inaccuracy still clings to him like the fabled garment of Nessus. Thus he always miswrites the Ethiopic preposition *emdehra* or *dehra* = "after" (pp. 3, 4 (twice), 28 (twice), 29 (twice), 35).

Again, where the inseparable *ēm* is used in the sense of "than" it is wrongly given as "am" (p. 28), and just as wrongly as 'ema (page 1) when it stands for an inseparable preposition. The ordinary word for "bread," *hebset*, appears as *habset* (pp. 1, 28). But much more surprising is his inability to write the word for "Saviour." Thus we have *Madhan* instead of *Madhen* (see pp. 1 (twice), 28, 29). A word that the editor cannot master is the very frequent term *querbán*, = "offering." It appears in three false forms: first as *quírbán* (pp. 4, 28, 35), next as *quegábán* (p. 28), and thirdly in a footnote on p. 84 of the English translation,

where the editor, recognising that quegāban was wrong, bids us read qūrbān which is just as inaccurate. Turning now to less common words, māḥabara (p. 1) should be written māḥbara; ḥadāt, = "few" (p. 3), should be ḥēdāt; kāl'an, = "others" (p. 3), should be kāl'an; sam'ā (p. 28) should be sem'ā or sem'a; 'akalil, = "crown" (p. 28), should be aklil. On p. 28 šamākanū is a *vox nulla*. Budge renders it "thy fasting," but this would require šōmkanū. Probably we should read šāmākanū, = "thy labours." Again, edev, = "men" (p. 28), should be 'edav, and faqedka, = "thy wish" (p. 4), should be faqādka; qadūsān (p. 29) should be qedūsān (p. 29), = "saints"; debra (p. 29) should be dabra, = "convent"; māḥatōta (p. 29) should be māhtōta, = "lamp."

When we turn from prepositions and nouns to verbs, we find the same untrustworthiness. Thus, on page 1, we have the absolutely impossible form 'isamī'ekemmūnū. This should be 'isamā'ekemmūnū, = "have ye not heard."

Next on page 2 we have the equally impossible she-markvō instead of shamarkvō, = "I am well pleased with him." Za'araqr, in the next line, is obviously a slip for za'afaqr, and taubaka (p. 28) for tauhbaka, and so do not count. But sam'evō, a few words later, is a most reprehensible confusion of the third plural indicative, and the second plural imperative. We should here correct into sem'evō. Again, rasā'i, = "he forgot it" (p. 3), is an impossible form for rasa'ā, and 'anqa, = "he put it round his neck" (p. 3), for 'anaqā or 'anaqā. It is very offensive to the eye to come across such monstrous forms as mōt (p. 2), for mōta, = "he died"; tasaql (p. 36) for tasaqla, = "was crucified"; tafannav (p. 29) for tafannava, = "was sent"; yebarḥa (p. 29) for yebarḥ = "will shine"; yenshē'a (p. 28) for yenshā'e, = "that he may take"; semī'ō (p. 28) for samī'ō, = "hearing"; nerakab (p. 3), for nerakeb, = "we shall find"; 'aḥadarō (p. 3), for 'aḥdarō, = "he will

cause to dwell; 'itakahlô for 'itakhlô, and 'adam for 'adama, or 'adamô, on page 28."

Before we proceed to deal with the translation, we should notice that baqala (p. 2) is wrongly in the construct or accusative case: similarly warha (p. 29), avrâha (p. 28), egzia (p. 28).

In the above list we have by no means exhausted the textual blunders on the eight pages to which we have confined our criticism. On page 28 alone there are twenty-two false forms, that is, one to nearly every eleven words. This page, it is true, seems to be the worst of the eight.

Mr. Budge has, as we observed above, described his MS. as full of peculiar spellings.¹ But no MS. in the space of seven or eight pages could attest such a host of sheer blunders as the above list. Possibly it may be answerable for a few of these, but the general character of Mr. Budge's work makes one very sceptical in this respect.

Inaccuracy seems to be an essential mark of his work. Thus, out of six quotations which he makes from the Ethiopic New Testament on pages 27, 28, 33, 59, 79, 86, by way of illustrating his text, he gives a faulty and ungrammatical text in four. In quoting St. John, i. 32, on page 27, he makes two mistakes; in quoting 1 Cor. vii. 32-33, on page 33, he makes one; and in quoting Matthew, x. 42, on page 59, he makes two; in quoting 1 Cor. xiii. 1, on page 86, he makes one. It is not necessary to press further the bearing of these inaccuracies.

THE TRANSLATION.—The translation presents us with no less startling solecisms than the text. Singular verbs are connected with plural subjects, and singular subjects with plural verbs. Nominatives from which the action

¹ In various footnotes to the English translation we find "read" so and so. With scholars generally "read," in such a context, means "emend the

text of the MS"; but with Mr. Budge it signifies a correction of some blunder in the printed text. See pp. 38, 43 (two misprints), 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, &c.

proceeds are transformed into accusatives, and made the objects of the action. Verbs in the first person are connected with subjects in the third; transitives are confused with reflexives, and reflexives with transitives. Words and idioms are occasionally wholly mistranslated; and even where the text is not very difficult, the English translation is at times a pure creation of Mr. Budge's brain.

We shall now give illustrations of the various blunders of which the translation is guilty, but our list does not by any means exhaust the errors in the eight pages we are criticising.

First as to the mistranslation of words and idioms. On page 2 we have the idiom ሕብረ : ሊድ , which means literally "one on whom the hands have been imposed," hence, "a man in orders." But Mr. Budge being unacquainted with this phrase renders it "a man of high rank"! On page 35 the text is rendered: "he gave gifts . . . to widows and to those who were wretched and in misery." This translation is astonishing; for the literal meaning is: "he gave gifts . . . to widows and orphans." Mr. Budge, not understanding the idiom እኩለ : ዓወጥ , boldly places before his readers a creation of his own: "and to those who were wretched and in misery." Again, the text on page 29 undergoes three misrenderings of this nature. Thus, $\text{ለክቅዕደወ : ወኅደረ : ሰዎዎ}$, which = "he looked up and beheld the heaven," appears in Mr. Budge as "then the heavens were opened and he looked in"! Three lines later the dying Mabá' Šëyôn says, "I see . . . saints shining with light; they are *pressing hither*." But according to Mr. Budge Mabá' Šëyôn says, "I see . . . saints shining with brilliant light *urging me* [to come]." Here Mr. Budge has omitted the adverb "hither," and confused two different moods of the verb *sa'aqa*. Three lines later on the same page, the text is rendered: "they knew that the saints would come

to receive it." Here the tense is wrong: it should be "had come down." In the above, and in subsequent passages where italics occur, they are due to the reviewer, and are used to bring into prominence the false and true translations of the passages discussed.

We have a confusion of singular and plural on page 2. Thus, instead of "He took upon Himself flesh . . . when *He saw* (meet to do so)" should be "He took upon Himself flesh . . . when *they saw Him*." The verb is ርእረዎ. But higher up on the same page the words ከብሐር : ለእግዚአብሔር : ዘያዕልክዎ : ጦላክት : ወሰብእ : form the occasion for the following very gross mistranslation: "Praise be unto God Almighty who hath given Mabā' Šěyôn power over both men and angels." This should be "Praise be unto God whom men and angels worship." Thus, we have "men and angels," which are the subject of the verb, transformed into its object; a plural verb depending on "men and angels" transformed into a singular, and the unwarrantable insertion of the proper name Mabā' Šěyôn, and to crown the whole an absolute distortion of the sense of the verb.

A further confusion of the nominative and accusative is perpetrated on the text of page 35, where a phrase which = "they smote upon their breasts" is rendered "their breasts heaved." Here also a wrong signification is attached to the verb.

Another instance where a plural verb is taken wrongly occurs in a sentence on the very first page of the text. This sentence appears in the translation as: "*The Lord shall make them beautiful* with ornaments of gold, and with precious stones, and with crowns, and with the apparel of light"; but should be rendered: "ornaments of precious stones and of gold, and crowns and garments of light *will adorn him*." የሠረገዎ is the third plural future with a suffix of the third singular masculine.

As I advance, however, I find that I must omit many passages which I had collected for criticism, and restrict the rest of this review to a few interesting renderings, that is, interesting as exhibiting the depravity of which Budge's scholarship is capable.

Lines 14-17, in the first column of page 2, which are translated: "And John who spake concerning Him, saying, 'I saw the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove of flesh,' baptized Him" should be rendered: "And when John baptized Him *in regard to whom they said* (ዘይብልዎ) *they saw* (ነጸርዎ) the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove of flesh." The text here is undoubtedly corrupt,¹ but that does not justify Mr. Budge in translating third plurals as first singulars.

But the next few lines in the same column: ዝኛቴ ውላቴ : ወልደዮ : ዘላፈቅር : ኪየሁ : ከመዕዎ², which are really Matthew, xvii., 5, and = "This is My Son whom I love: hear Him," are rendered in the following astounding fashion by Mr. Budge: "This is My Son: whosoever loveth Him, let him hearken unto Him." We have here a sad confusion of persons, tenses, and sense.

The next passage, which is radically misrepresented, is on page 3. It is rendered: "Then the owner of the picture said unto him, 'Though it may be pleasing unto him, yet unto me would the picture [say], 'Let me not pass out of thy memory'; let the child whom it hath pleased have it.'" That the reader may appreciate the meaning of the passage, it may be well to set forth the preceding events. A certain stranger had spent a night at the house of Mabá' Sëyôn's father, and on his departure

¹ If for the two Ethiopic words above we read ዘይብሉ and ነጸርኩ, we obtain an intelligible text: "And when John baptized Him, in regard to whom he said: 'I saw the Holy

Ghost in the form of a dove of flesh.'" This attributes the vision to John, though his Gospels assign it to Christ.

² The two false forms which appear in these six words in Mr. Budge's text are here corrected.

next day left a picture or eikon behind him. This picture Mabā' Šĕyŏn seized upon,¹ and refused to give up to the great mental disquiet of his father. Some time later the father met the stranger and told him about the picture. To him the stranger rejoins in the passage referred to: "And the owner of the picture said: 'It has pleased him: it would not have escaped me, if thou hadst wished that my property should become that of the child, who was pleased with it.'" The text requires the omission of 𐌸 before the second 𐌹𐌺. The words "it hath pleased him" can hardly belong to this context. The text is not free from corruptions, but we have no room here for its emendation.

But the most amazing rendering in the eight pages we are discussing is of the three words which follow immediately on the last passage: 𐌸𐌹𐌺 : 𐌹𐌺𐌸 : 𐌹𐌺𐌸𐌹𐌺, which, according to Mr. Budge, = "For through it he shall be safe in the judgment." Now, the words in question have no reference either to Mabā' Šĕyŏn or to the judgment, but are a direct address to the father of Mabā' Šĕyŏn, who had been labouring under conscientious scruples as to the retention of the picture. To him accordingly the stranger says: "And be thou acquitted in regard to it"; that is, "make your mind easy about the matter."

Of lines 3-7 of the second column of page 1 we have the following misleading translation: "Have ye never heard how *He* shall celebrate the commemoration of all the saints, and how *He* shall reign as king with them on Mount Zion? *And besides*, he who shall celebrate the commemoration of our Redeemer shall *obtain the kingdom of heaven as an act of grace?*" This should be: "Have ye not heard that he who hath celebrated the commemoration of all saints, will reign with them on Mount Zion? How he who hath celebrated the commemoration of the Redeemer *will find grace in the kingdom of heaven.*"

With three passages from pages 28-29 we will conclude this review. The first is ፬፬፻፱፻፶፯ : ዘተልእኩ : ለጌሃ : ለእግርክዳዎው : ይቢ, which is translated: "As for the deacons which served; 'I will make ye (*sic*) to know forthwith,' said Mabā' Šĕyōn." Here the verb translated "I will make ye to know" is the 2nd person plural with suffix, and not the 1st person singular. Furthermore, the adverb does not mean "forthwith." The text = "'The deacons who served on that occasion ye know,' said he."

(2) ለዝነገር : ለኮ : ለገሕቲቱ : ዘነገር : ለዘጸቀፈ : ዘነተ : ለለ : ነገረ : ለ፫ለደው = according to Mr. Budge: "Now these things Mabā' Šĕyōn told, not only to the man to whom he spake them, but also to him that wrote this book; and not to them only, but also to three men," a very erroneous rendering for: "These things he told not to him only who told the writer of this book, but also to three men."

(3) ፬፻፳፩ : ኮነ : ዝነገር : ፬፫፬ረሳ : ለለ : ተግሰሉ በቅዱሳን : = according to Mr. Budge: "And it came to pass that the third month of which [the monk] had spoken, wherein he was to take upon himself the form and likeness of the saints drew nigh." Here probably Mr. Budge attains "the height of that bad eminence" which we have found he enjoys as an Ethiopic scholar and translator. The words are to be taken simply as follows: "And when this event had come to pass, and the three months (had elapsed) which were signified by the saints."

From the above specimens of Mr. Budge's work, it follows beyond the possibility of contradiction, that with his present knowledge he is absolutely unfitted either to edit¹ an Ethiopic text or to translate one.

¹ Yet before Mr. Budge undertook the present work, he had already edited nearly 1000 pages of Ethiopic text.

It is, therefore, time that his work should be thoroughly tested.

R. H. CHARLES.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE *LACHES* OF
PLATO.

LAST Easter, while examining the remainder of the papyri found in mummy cases at Gurob by Professor Petrie, I discovered a small additional fragment of the MS. of the *Laches* of Plato, which had escaped the notice of Professor Mahaffy. The papyrus measures four inches in width by four and a-half inches in height, but, unfortunately, is full of holes, and one inch and a-half of its width, on the right-hand side, was originally covered by the overlapping part of the following κόλλημα, and is, therefore, blank.

The first column extends from ἀκούσας in 189 D to σχεδόν in 189 E, about six letters being lost at the beginning of each line; in the second column a few of the opening letters of lines belonging to 190 A are preserved.

COL. I.

ακουσονται και ακουϸΑϸ
 αυ μετα ΜελησιωΥ ΤΟΥΔε
 ποιησω τΟΥΤΟ Ο ΤΙ ΑΝ ΥΜΙΝ
 δοκΗΙ—ΠΕΙϸΤΕΟΝ
 ΟΙ ΛΥϸΙΜΑΧΩΙ
 Ι Α ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ
 νυν δη ΕΠΕΧΕϸΗϸΑ
 μεν σκοΠΕΙΝ ΤΙΝΕϸ Η
 διδασκαΔΟΙ ΗμΙΝ ΤΗϸ ΤΟΙ
 αυτης παΙΔΕΙΑς γεγοΝΑ
 σιν η τιΝΑϸ ΑΛΛΟΥϸ Βολι
 ους πεποΙΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΙϸΩϸ
 μεν ου καΚΩϸ ΕΙΧΕ ΕΞΕ
 ταζειΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΟιαΥΤΑ
 ημας αυΤΟΥϸ ΑΛΛ ΟΙΜαι
 και η τοιαΔΕ ϸΚΕϸις εις ταν
 τον φεροι ΚΑι ϸΧΕΔΟΝ

COL. II.

παραγενο

ΜΕΝη οφθαλμοις βελτιους
 ΠΟΙΕι εκεινους ους παρεγε
 ΝΕΤο και προσετι οιοι τε εϸ-
 5 ΜΕν ποιειν αυτην παρα-
 ΓιΓνεσθαι ομμασιν δηλον
 ΟΤΙ Οψιν γε ισμεν αυτην τι
 ΠΟΤ εστιν ης περι συμ-
 ΒΟΥλοι αν γενοιμεθα
 10 Ωϸ Αν τις αυτην ϸρστα
 ΚΑΙ αριστα κτησαι-
 ΤΟ Ει γαρ
 .. Ν
 ϸΧΟληι
 15 ΜΙ
 ..

L. 3. Most of the MSS. read *καὶ ὑμῖν* : *καὶ* is omitted by Bekker with *a, b*, but retained by most editors.

Ll. 4-6. The reading of the MSS. *πειστέον, ὧ Νικία τε καὶ Λάχης, Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Μελησίῳ* is much too long for the papyrus, which, perhaps, had *πειστέον μέντοι Λυσιμάχῳ τούτῳ*. The omission of *καὶ Μελησίῳ* here is a distinct improvement, because the request was made by Lysimachus alone; its insertion in the MSS. was probably due to the frequent combination of their names elsewhere in the dialogue.

L. 8. H] MSS. *οἱ*.

L. 13. EIXE] MSS. *ἔχει*. The reading of the papyrus is much better than that of the accepted text, because these two questions had been the subject of the previous discussion: it also deprives of its force Bekker's note—"iubente sententia corrigendum *ἰξεράζειν κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα*." Socrates, with these words, dismisses this inquiry, to substitute another, which will lead to the same result, but be more fundamental in character.

L. 17. The reading of the papyrus probably was *καὶ σχεδὸν τι μᾶλλον ἰξ ἀρχῆς εἶη ἄν*. The MSS. have *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.*

The remains of the second column are so small that they cannot supply a foundation for criticism: the text of the papyrus, however, in ll. 12-15 seems to have been shorter than that of the MSS.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

PALMER'S HEROIDES OF OVID.¹

THE late Professor Palmer, though cut off prematurely, has left enduring memorials of himself in the domain of critical scholarship. His brilliant work upon Plautus, Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid, as well as upon Bacchylides, Aristophanes, and Herondas, has made his name familiar to all serious students of classical literature. His contributions to Propertian criticism are perhaps his most important legacy to scholars; but there is no author whom Palmer touched without helping to purify the text with convincing emendations.² Perhaps it is not too much to claim for him that in the *longa atque insignis pagina* inscribed with the names of the great Latinists of modern times he will take rank near to Lachmann and Munro, and not very far below Bentley. In Germany his position as a critic has not yet been fairly estimated; but the full recognition by continental scholars of his rare and exquisite gifts can only be a question of time.³ Certainly he had *les défauts de ses qualités*. As a critic he possessed a real "faculty of divination"—that instinct which, as Bentley said, "can be acquired by no

¹ *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides*, with the Greek translation of Planudes: edited by the late Arthur Palmer, Litt. D.; Hon. D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Glasg.), Fellow of Trinity College, Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin. At the Clarendon Press, 1898.

² It would be a real boon to scholars, if such of his suggested emen-

dations as are not contained in the editions of texts that he published could be collected from the various journals in which they appeared, and be brought out as a volume of *Adversaria*.

³ Sedlmayer has done full justice to his work on the *Heroides* in his "Kritischer Commentar zu Ovids Heroiden" (Vienna, 1881).

constancy of toil or length of life, but comes solely by the gift of nature and the happy star." In Palmer this faculty, when at its best, was like the inspiration of genius. Yet, as is the way with exceptional mental gifts, it was not always equally at his call, nor always controlled by a perfectly sober judgment.¹ But his occasional failure of discernment will be very readily condoned by those who realize in how many passages in the Greek and Latin poets his happy emendations brought order and beauty out of the uncouth and the unintelligible.

The *Heroides* was the first Latin book to which he applied in good earnest this wonderful critical instinct, in which he soon showed himself to be almost the equal of N. Heinsius, the greatest of Ovid's editors. As a result, we have in Palmer's edition the best text of the *Heroides* that has yet appeared in print.² The most competent critics, at any rate in England and America, are at one in according to Palmer the title of the most successful emender of Ovid in this century, not even making an exception of Madvig. For the task of editing Ovid Palmer had special qualifications in his fine appreciation of poetical diction, in his mastery of Latin versification, as exhibited in his versions in "Kottabos" and "Dublin Translations," in a delicately-tuned ear, and a memory richly stored with the gems of poetical literature, both ancient and modern.

Professor Robinson Ellis asserts that Palmer "revolutionized" the criticism of the *Heroides*, and the statement

¹ The same thing might be said of Bentley, but more strongly. His correction of *insanis* to *incanis* in 1. 6, for the reason that the waves would have been anything but insane to drown an adulterer is a *bêtise*, such as Palmer could never have committed.

² The posthumous edition has some

later readings than the text in Postgate's *Corpus*, so that Palmer's final judgment must be looked for here. Instances of decided improvement upon the earlier text are the reading *se cavet* for the corrupt *se favet* in 6. 100, *audibam* for *audieram* in 14. 36 (see *corrigenda*), and *lassus* for *iussus* in 12. 149.

is not too strong. It is therefore a matter of special regret to Palmer's friends that he was not able to see the completion and publication of his final edition of the book which he seems to have regarded as his *magnum opus*. The illness which ended in his death compelled him to leave the work in an unfinished state. At his urgent request Professor Purser, his friend and his successor in the Chair of Latin, undertook to complete and publish it. Let it be said at once, and it is a good deal to say, that the manner in which Professor Purser has accomplished his task is not unworthy of the original editor. He has with great modesty withheld his own name from the title-page; but, none the less, his contribution to the completion of the book is considerable, and is a piece of first-class scholarly work. Palmer had carried his full annotation only as far as the end of the Fourteenth Epistle. He had also written the greater part of the commentary on Epp. 15-17, but had left only some rough notes on 18-21. Although Professor Purser has discharged his pious task in the the most loyal and conscientious manner, yet it is evident that not only the notes on Epp. 15-21, but indeed the whole commentary more or less has suffered from the lack of final revision by Palmer himself, and on this ground some indulgence, though not much is needed, should be allowed. Following Palmer's instructions or suggestions, Purser has added a well-written introduction, which includes a general sketch, a full and accurate description of the MSS., based in part upon Sedlmayer's *Prolegomena*, and a chapter¹ upon the very flat, though for critical purposes useful, Translation by Planudes, which has now been printed for the first time. He has given us also an *Excursus* upon Hiatus in the *Heroides* and a complete

¹ For this Professor Purser acknowledges considerable indebtedness to the monograph of Gudeman, who was

the first to show clearly the value of the version.

list of Bentley's emendations. The edition has been further enriched with some pages of notes by that eminent and decidedly formidable critic, Mr. Housman, which have been reprinted from the *Classical Review*. A word of praise is due to the full and well-arranged index, which greatly increases the value of the book as a work of reference. The most important points as regards the literary qualities of the poems have been touched upon in Professor Purser's Introduction. The writings of the best critics of the *Heroides*, including Tollkiehn, Piéri, Dilthey, Luniak, Anderson, Peters, Lindemann, and many others, seem to have been well explored by both Palmer and Purser. It is interesting to find the latter avowing his belief that the anomalies in Epp. 16-21 are not such as to disprove the Ovidian authorship, a view which the present writer is bold to admit he shares.

Poetic genius of the highest order can certainly not be claimed for the *Heroides*. It is unmistakably inferior to both the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Amores*, the latter of which few would perhaps deny to be Ovid's most perfect composition. Some admirers of the poet may therefore, perhaps, regret that Palmer chose the *Heroides* rather than one of the other two works for the exercise of his critical faculty. But, after all, the *Heroides* has conspicuous merits in its vivid conception of characters and situations, its sweetness of versification, its insight into the workings of the female heart, and the ease and grace of its diction. It bears well also the test of world-wide and long-continued popularity. In almost all European countries it has been constantly read and imitated down to our own times. It would seem to have been a favourite with Gower, Chaucer, Pope, and Drayton, and perhaps also with Shakespeare, who introduces two lines from the *Penelope* in the Taming of the Shrew, has in the same play (Ind. Sc. 1) almost certainly a reminiscence of Ep. 2. 52, and, in 3 Henry VI.

1. 3. 48, has added a line from the *Phyllis* (2. 66) to "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of York," in a scene where he has otherwise made only the slightest alterations of the original.¹ Besides, the work should be of special interest to students of literature as being Ovid's sole attempt at a treatment of love under any other than its sensual aspect, unless indeed we should accept his lost tragedy, *Medea*. Scarcely anywhere else in his works do we catch the note of tenderness and pathos. It is in truth not a little remarkable that the laureate of the fast and fashionable society of Augustan Rome and the author of the *Ars Amatoria* should have been able to delineate the passion of the heroines of antiquity with comparatively so little grossness of thought or expression.

It was, however, the special critical problems presented by the text of the *Heroides* which attracted Palmer to the work, and the prime value and interest of the edition of course lie in his recension of the text and in the emendations he suggested. Mr. Housman, writing in the *Classical Review* (xiii. 172, *sq.*), sets down nine (9) of Palmer's emendations as "certain or nearly so." These are at 4. 86; 6. 55; 7. 152; 13. 63, *sqq.*; 15. 7; 16. 38; 17. 260; 18. 203; and 'perhaps' 4. 137. Opinions will differ as to what constitutes a 'certain' emendation, and the personal equation must always be taken into account. At least one (7. 152) of those in Mr. Housman's list can hardly be said to carry conviction; while, on the other hand, the statement may be hazarded that most critics would be inclined

¹ "As Shakespeare was probably working at the 'Taming of the Shrew' and the parts of 'Henry VI.' about the same time, the two quotations from the first and second of the 'Heroic Epistles' would seem to show that he had recently been studying these celebrated dramatic lyrics." See "What Shakespeare learnt at School," by

Mr. T. S. Baynes, in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1880. Mr. Baynes, in his very interesting papers, has given satisfactory proof that Shakespeare was a fair Latin scholar, and in his earlier life a diligent student of Ovid. [For further possible reminiscences of the *Heroides* in Shakespeare see Purser's Index, s. v. Shakespeare.]

to add to the 'certainties,' at any rate, 6. 100, *cavet for favet*; 6. 131, *Hanc hanc* for *Hanc tamen*; 12. 170, *Et tener a misero pectore somnus abit* for *nec teneram misero . . . habet*, and possibly also 12. 123, *mersisset* for *misisset*. The list is not a long one, it is true; but two or three of the best of these would be enough to make a reputation. In reckoning Palmer's successes it should also be borne in mind that in at least two instances he had the vexatious experience of finding he had been anticipated by Madvig (12. 17 and 7. 71).

The commentary has high merits. It often explains rightly passages which were wholly misunderstood by Burmann and other early editors. It is the first complete English commentary on the *Heroides* that has yet been published. It is full without being too discursive, and it will often, like Munro's *Lucretius* and Mayor's *Juvenal*, be found useful as a work of reference in connexion with other authors. An attractive feature is the rich illustration with parallels from modern literature. Probably there is little that could be added in this direction with advantage.¹ Among others Chaucer, Burns, Dickens, Browning, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and the old English Ballads are frequently laid under requisition, and many very happy parallels are adduced. The prefaces to the several epistles call for separate mention. They remind one of the admirable introductions in Professor Ellis' edition of Catullus. They are exhaustive in so far as they contain what is really essential,² yet without that display of learning for which an introduction offers

¹ In connexion with 9. 31, *non honor est sed onus*, it might have been worth while to cite from Tennyson's *Lord of Burleigh*, "With the burthen of an honour unto which she was not born." [Shakspeare, *Hy. VIII.* iii. 2. 383.] For the use of *caecum* in 18. 74

additional exx. can be given (*si tanti est*) from Cowper, *Task*, 3. 234, "Mortal eyes, blind from the birth," and Tennyson, *Princess*, 4. 116, "She wept her true eyes blind."

² In the introduction to 13 (*Laudamia*) a precise citation of Lucian,

what is often so fatally tempting an occasion. But none of Palmer's own prefaces surpasses, perhaps none matches, that which Purser has supplied to Epp. 20 and 21.

The following comments are offered in view of the possibility of the work reaching a second edition :—

1. 40-42. Palmer writes : "It is very unlikely that *dolo* is sound both here and in ver. 42." This is put somewhat too strongly. The Greek and Roman writers were not nearly so sensitive as ourselves to such repetitions. There are other reasons for following Bentley in rejecting 37-40; but the repetition of *dolo* does not greatly add to their cogency. A similar repetition to which Bentley makes no demur, occurs in 5. 82-84. If 37-40 are to stand, and any change in the text is required, nothing better has yet been suggested than Tyrrell's very clever *lucro* for *dolo*.

1. 50. The anomalous construction of *carendus* has been passed over without comment. The lexx. quote Plaut. Curc. 136 and Poen. 820 for *careo* c. acc. They have strangely omitted Ter. Eun. 223, *non ego illam caream*? It is instructive to notice how some who suffer *carendus* here gladly will not away with *fruenda* in the suspected Ep. 20 (ver. 118) and yet *fruenda* is Ciceronian (Fin. i. 1. 3) while *carendus* is á. λ.

2. 43. *Sua numina vindicet*. Attention might have been called to the wide range of the word *numen*, as illustrated in vv. 31-42. See Nettleship's note in *Journ. of Phil.* 17. 157-8.

3. 69 *sqq.* Palmer quotes a singularly felicitous parallel from the Nut-Browne Maid. It is surprising that he did

Mort. Dial. 19 and 23, is missing. Wordsworth's fine poem *Laodamia* should also have been mentioned. In connexion with Ep. 5 it might have been pointed out that Tennyson's pic-

ture of Oenone as a soft and gentle character was probably derived from Ovid, who in his treatment of the theme seems to have departed considerably from the Greek conception.

not observe that the passage in Ovid is a manifest echo of Catull. 64. 158-163.

4. 134. For the use of *omne* cf. 15. 121.

5. 147. "I know of no other instance save this and 131 where [*opis*] is used absolutely without an epithet for 'medicine.'" Another example occurs in the very next Ep. (6. 98). Cf. also Met. 7. 527.

7. 152. Palmer's conjecture *Resque* has won Mr. Housman's acceptance. Yet it is far from certain. The conjecture of C. Haeblerlin *Ipse loco* deserved notice. Although clearly not the reading of Planudes, yet it follows the *ductus litterarum* of P.ma¹ better than Palmer's *Resque*, and improves the sense of the verse. The trajection of *que* might have led to the alteration by an ignorant scribe.

8. 23. *Mille rates*, Juv. 12. 122 (Mayor).

9. 31. *Non honor est sed onus*. Cf. 17. 167, *Fama quoque est oneri*, unless indeed the reading *Forma* be preferred.

9. 70. The construction of *pudendus* which Palmer's emendation involves seems to be perfectly unexampled and indeed impossible, whereas the vulgate gives a tolerable meaning and normal syntax.

11. 35. It is remarkable that one so familiar as was Palmer with the text of Propertius should have (apparently) overlooked the source of this line in Prop. i. 1. 3, pointed out by Professor Housman more than ten years ago in the *Journal of Philology*.

11. 37. Cf. Mart. 14. 151, *dulci sed pondere venter Si tumeat*.

11. 59. *Aisti*. It seems better to read, with Riese, after the latter MSS., *dixti*, as the form *aisti* occurs nowhere (*quod sciam*) in Class. Lat., nor is *aio* found in any other of Ovid's works. [Cp. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre iii. p. 633.] The same confusion between *aio* and *dico* occurs in Plaut. Capt. 72 (i. 1. 4), and *a* and *d* were often confounded in cursives.

11. 121. Cf. 21. 59.

11. 127-8.

*Tu, rogo, dilectae nimium mandata sororis
perfer: mandatis persequar ipsa patris.*

Heinsius despaired of the couplet and rejected it. Bentley left it severely alone. Palmer reads:—

*Tura rogo placitae nimium mandata sororis
tu fer: mandatum persequar ipsa patris.*

This is ingenious but violent, and is open to other objections, as has been shown by Professor Housman (*C. R.* xiii. 174) whose own emendation, *perfice* for *perfer* and *opsequar* for *persequar*, would be altogether convincing but for the metrical difficulty presented by *rogo*, of which there is no other example in the Elegiac poets. See Ramsay's *Lat. Prosody*, p. 57.

13. 61. The peculiar use of *consors* c. dat. demands illustration. The use is unknown to Cicero. A parallel is furnished by Lucan 4. 178, *Admonet hunc studiis consors puerilibus aetas*.

Ep. 15.¹ Professor Purser defends ably the Ovidian authorship, impugned by Lachmann, Madvig, and others. In this he has carried out the last directions of Palmer, but he evidently writes with conviction. Of late years the case for the defence has been greatly strengthened by the support of Luniak, De Vries, Bährens, and Comparetti. Palmer himself was one of the most recent converts to their side. It may be questioned whether Professor Purser has done full justice to Luniak's *Quaestiones Sapphicae*, in which the view is effectively urged that several passages in the Ep. are taken directly from Sappho.

¹ The arbitrary character of some of the "Higher Criticism" as applied to Ovid may be well illustrated by the case of this epistle. While Lachmann speaks of the "inepta editorum vel

recentissimorum superstitio" in including it among the genuine Epp., Jahn, on the other hand, declares it to be "omnium praestantissima."

Luniak is of opinion that the less finished form of the Ep. is due to its being a youthful production. His explanation of the name *Erietho* (139), that it arose from the original reading *Alecto* partly conflated with a gloss *Erinys*, also deserves consideration. Pope's translation of the Epistle was worth mention. A more recent and consequently fuller bibliography of Sappho than that to which Professor Purser refers the reader, is to be found in the second edition of Wharton's well-known work, or in Cipollini's "Saffo."

15. 59. Everything in this epistle decidedly, and yet not obviously, characteristic of Ovid, deserves attention from its bearing on the question of authorship. Accordingly for *tenorem* in 59, *inceptum peragit fortuna tenorem*, cf. its use in the certainly genuine verse, 7. 112, *Prosequitur fati, qui fuit ante, tenor*. Further evidence in the same direction is supplied in the phrase *quid mirum?* in 85. Professor Mayor has somewhere (reference lost) drawn attention to the infrequency of the expression in Lat. Lit.; but it is Ovidian (Fast. 6. 289; Pont. 3. 4. 63). It seems safe to say that touches of this kind—and a good many similar instances might be given from the epistle—do not usually lie within the art of the imitator.

15. 63. Ehwald's suggestion, *sparsit opes*, deserves mention, if not acceptance. It is nearer to the MSS. than Bentley's conjecture and better fits the context.

15. 117. Those who question the Ovidian authorship have surely made too much of the fact that *maeror* is not found elsewhere in Ov. nor in Verg., Prop., nor Tib. It should be remembered that the word is used by Catull. (in the pl.) in Elegiacs, by Hor. (though not in Lyr.) and by Stat. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as tabooed in poetry, and should be judged on its own merits like any other ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in an author, such, for example, as *melos* in Hor., to which no one objects.

15. 122. Cf. Fast. 1. 408, *dissuto pectus aperta sinu*; Tib. 1. 6. 18, *laxo pectus aperta sinu*, with other exx. brought together by Housman in *Journ. of Phil.*, 21. 177.

16. Introd., p. 437. "Si nescis occurs three times." As a matter of fact, it occurs four times. Add 17. 198. It may be pointed out that the frequent imitation (within brief compass) of a phrase that has struck his fancy is a decided note of Ovid's style.

16. 111. Cf. Pont., 4. 3. 5, *Dum mea puppis erat valida fundata carina*.

16. 161. Cf. 2. 115.

16. 169, *nec . . . aut* for *nec . . . nec* deserves a note, being ignored by the lexx. The combination occurs again in ver. 358. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 779.

16. 200. For place of preposition cf. 21. 232.

17. 102. "That *or* was a neutral word is shown," &c. The use is inadequately illustrated. Add at least Sen. Epp. 11. 4, *nihil erat mollius ore Pompeii*.

17. 164. For the use of *non* with imperatives see J. E. Nixon in *Journ. of Phil.*, 7. 54-59.

17. 167. It is singular that Palmer makes no mention of Bentley's admirable emendation of *Fama* to *Forma*, which gains much probability from the occurrence of the word in ver. 174, to say nothing of the support of Planudes' version.

17. 229 *sq.* An imitation of Prop. 2. 21. 12 (= 3. 14. 12) which was pointed out by Prof. Housman (*Journ. of Phil.*, 22. 118), who emends the Propertian line, so as to read *eiēcit Aesonia*, &c.

18. 60. Cf. Juv. 3. 286, *me quem luna solet deducere* (note *officiosa*, with metaphor of the *cliens*).

18. 67. Cf. Juv. 2. 170.

— 107. Cf. A. A. 2. 308.

— 169. The use of *adhuc* of future time is not so rare as the note seems to suggest. Add to the reff. Plin. Epp., 2. 10. 2; 3. 10. 4; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 48. 1; 2. 26. 5; 3. 15. 4;

4. 40. 11, and see Hand s. v. The passage in Sen., which Palmer had in his mind but for which no reference is given, may have been possibly Nat. Quaest. 4. 8, *unam rem adhuc adiciam*, but *adhuc* here rather belongs to *unam* = *êv êti*.

21. 54. Apparently a reminiscence of Hor. Epp. 1. 2. 14.

In the introduction to Ep. 16 Palmer expresses strongly his conviction that Ovid was not the author of the last five epistles; but it can hardly be said that he supports his case with very weighty arguments. It may not be out of place here to urge a few considerations for the defence.

Epp. 16-21 are marked except in some isolated passages by the same general characteristics as the other epistles—the same “glittering rhetoric,” metrical adroitness, vivid realization, smoothness of narrative, and, it may be added, frequency of self-repetition. The writer shows also the same acquaintance with Callimachus and other Alexandrian literature (notably in 20 and 21) as appears in the accepted elegiac writings of Ovid. There is the same fondness, too, for reminiscences of Catullus (*e.g.* 19. 45), Propertius (*e.g.* 17. 81-22, 113, 229; 19. 197) and Vergil.¹ Besides, there is in the flow of the verse a peculiar Ovidian melody which it seems impossible to regard as the result of imitation. Doubtless there are peculiarities of both metre and diction which stamp 16-21 as belonging to a different period from the others. The polysyllabic ending² of the pentameter, of which three (3) exx. occur in the suspected Epp., is a feature of Ovid's later work. There is more prolixity and less dignity of style in the later Epp. On the other hand, there are extremely fine passages, “to

¹ In addition to the parallels noticed by edd., it may be suggested that in 18. 77 there is a verbal reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* 8. 23.

² Palmer goes a little beyond the mark when he says that “before Ovid's

exile there is no trace of the polysyllabic ending of the pentameter.” As a matter of fact there are two exx. in the *Fasti*, viz:—5. 582 and 6. 660. It is most unlikely that these are due to a post-exilian revision.

which," as Palmer admits, "it is difficult to find a rival in Ovid himself." Few surely can be blind to the grace and delicacy of sentiment with which the story of Acontius and Cydippe is told in 20 and 21, and in 18. 77 *sqq.* there is a tender and limpid beauty of description which is certainly not surpassed, if indeed equalled, in any of the unchallenged epistles. Poetry of this order is not commonly written by a "clever imitator," nor is it easily credible that the writer of such lines remained a mere *nominis umbra*. It appears a reasonable hypothesis that these poems may have been the work of Ovid's later years. There is much less of youthful freshness about them. The greater diffuseness is characteristic of an aging writer, and the metrical phenomena suggest a later date and probably also an absence of final revision (cf. *Trist.* i. 7. 30). This view, which has been held by sound and acute scholars, both in England and on the Continent, is dismissed too lightly by Palmer with the remark that Ovid "certainly did not attempt this sort of composition during his exile." There are other considerations which, though slight in themselves, still contribute to support the "integrity" theory. There are strong indications that Epp. 5 (*Oenone*) and 16 are derived from a common source. The materials of the *Oenone* appear to have been drawn, at least in part, from Apollodorus, and 16. 360 almost certainly contains a reference to Apollodorus, iii. 12. 4. 5.

Again, Juvenal¹ is full of reminiscences of Ovid. Among these we may almost certainly include from the *Heroides*, 16. 228 (*Sat.* 13. 213) and 290 (*Sat.* 10. 297), and

¹ Palmer knew his Juvenal well, and he has in the commentary drawn attention to most of the parallels to be found in the Satires. The verbal reminiscence of 13. 139 *nova nupta marito* in *Juv.* 2. 120 *nova nupta mariti* seems to have escaped his

attention. It is interesting to observe that he has now withdrawn the very hazardous interpretation of *Sat.* 1. 157, which he too confidently put forward in his first edition of the *Heroides* in 1874.

18. 60 (Sat. 3. 286). The first of these is in all probability imitated also by Seneca (Ep. 82. 21), whose frequent echoes of Ovid have been often noticed. There is a presumption thus raised that, at least as early as the time of Seneca and Juvenal, Epp. 16 and 18 passed for Ovid's. Palmer contends that the author lived in the Silver Age; but he has not brought forward one really conclusive instance of silver Latinity in these Epp., and Lachmann himself admits that the diction is not inconsistent with a date in the Augustan era. The objections which Lachmann urges against the Epp. in question are somewhat discounted by the fact that he challenged equally the genuineness of 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 14, which no scholar of repute now suspects. Palmer himself, at one time, strongly argued for the spuriousness of Ep. 13, pointing to the similarities in diction which are common to this with Epp. 16 and 17. These indeed are so numerous and striking that they may most truly be said to demonstrate that the three Epistles, as Palmer once phrased it, "must stand or fall together."

Perhaps the most serious impugment of Epp. 16-21 is that which is based on artistic considerations. For instance, it must be conceded to Prof. Sellar that 16 and 17 are "conceived on a more vulgar and conventional level of feeling than the others" (*i.e.* 1-15), and we cannot disregard his contention that Ovid had "too true a conception of the ideal of a heroic age to allow it to be so vulgarized." But, none the less, there are decided traces of a master hand in the skill and subtlety of delineation in Ep. 17, which is well called a "*summum opus meretriciae artis*." As has happened in so many cases, the lowering of Ovid's artistic and literary ideals might have been the result merely of advancing years or of embittering circumstances in his life. Allowance is also of course to be made for at least as large a proportion of interpolation in these as in the epistles. Ovid, probably owing to the nature of his

themes, would seem to have suffered from interpolation more than any other Latin poet.

But the whole question is one that has long divided scholars, and it would require considerable space for its adequate treatment.

The type, paper, and general style of the volume are worthy of a Clarendon Press publication, and the proof-reading has been creditably done. A careful perusal has detected only the following trifles to be added to the list of *corrigenda*, which, considering the nature of the work, are surprisingly few :—

Page	xi, line	17 from top, <i>after</i> show <i>insert</i> better.
„	xxxiv, „	11 „ top, <i>insert</i> or splits one word into two.
„	9, „	91 of text, <i>for</i> <i>occulis</i> <i>read</i> <i>oculis</i> .
„	44, „	152 of text, <i>Res</i> should be italicised.
„	87, „	11 from foot, <i>for</i> <i>Hec.</i> 869, <i>read</i> <i>Hec.</i> 886.
„	123, Ep. 18.	1-2 should be enclosed in crotchets.
„	283, line	1, some name apparently omitted. [Southey, <i>After Blenheim</i>].
„	339, „	19, The reference “See J. N. Anderson” is inadequate. Presumably the work indicated is Mr. Anderson’s pamphlet <i>On the Sources of Ovid’s Heroides</i> : Berlin, 1896.
„	340, „	14, “Trinity College,” Dublin ?
„	359, „	4 from foot, <i>for</i> <i>Oetolian</i> <i>read</i> <i>Aetolian</i> .
„	410, „	2 from top, <i>for</i> <i>pater</i> <i>read</i> <i>frater</i> .
„	414, „	10 from foot, <i>for</i> <i>familiaris</i> <i>read</i> <i>res familiaris</i> .
„	441.	The first sentence on the page should begin the note on ver. 91.

INDEX.—Under “*diversus*” add ref. to 17. 7; under “*iste*” add 7. 4; under “*iuvenalis*” the correct distinction made in the note (p. 388) has been reversed.

In spite of the disadvantages under which it labours from being still in a somewhat unfinished state, the book

will certainly take a permanent place among the standard editions, and must command the attention of all future editors and exact students of Ovid. It reflects high honour not only upon the lamented Professor Palmer, but also upon the University of which he was so distinguished a member, and which he so worthily represented in the field of Latin Scholarship.

ALEXANDER LEEPER.

MR. KENYON'S PALÆOGRAPHY OF GREEK
PAPYRI.¹

MR. KENYON, the first publisher of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, the Mimes of Herodas and the Odes of Bacchylides, and editor of the volumes containing the non-literary papyri preserved in the British Museum, can speak with authority on the two great divisions into which the Palæography of Greek Papyri naturally falls. He has performed with the greatest skill the work of a pioneer in a country previously unexplored and almost unknown, and has produced a book of the highest value to all who are interested in the history of Greek writing.

The subject is new and the material is rapidly increasing: it is only within the last twenty years that papyri have been found in large numbers, and every year adds largely to the stock; even since the publication of Mr. Kenyon's Essay, Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have discovered numerous documents which may be expected to throw great light on the history of Greek writing in the first centuries before and after Christ.

Mr. Kenyon's work, to quote his own words, is an essay in the strict sense of the term—an attempt to formulise and classify the results of a number of discoveries, most of which have occurred quite recently. At the outset a sharp line of separation is drawn between literary and non-literary papyri; the distinction is fundamental and

¹ The Palæography of Greek Papyri, facsimiles and a table of alphabets. by Frederic G. Kenyon, with twenty Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1899.

the development of the two kinds of writing must be followed separately. In the third century B.C., however, the difference does not seem to me so marked as in later times; the literary papyri of this period fall into two classes, in one of which the writing is small and formal, in the other it is large and free, bearing a close resemblance to the most carefully written documents among the non-literary papyri; on the other hand there are two absolutely distinct styles of handwriting found in the latter, styles which differ from each other not in degree only, but in principle; one of these is a careful, regular hand in which each letter is fully formed, a tendency to cursiveness being shown only in the use of ligatures, which though sometimes entirely absent, are sometimes so numerous that they present the appearance of a straight line along the top of the writing: the other is rapid, careless, and in many cases very small, the letters often merely indicated—*γραμμάτων σπαράγμασι καὶ κεφαλαῖς οἱ σπεύδοντες γράφουσι*—and either running into each other or connected by ligatures which take the easiest direction from one letter to the next. The latter type of writing Mr. Kenyon seems to consider characteristic of the second century A.D., but it is also very common in and after the third century B.C. A very good instance of this contrast may be seen in a document published with autotypes by Mahaffy in PP. II. xxxvii.; on the *recto* is a letter in a very clear and careful hand, with each letter separate and complete, on the *verso* is a rough draft of the answer, in which the words are only outlined, in such a cursive style that, up to the present, it has remained undeciphered.

The first two chapters are occupied with an account of the successive discoveries of papyri in Egypt, and a description of the preparation of the material for use, the manufacture of single sheets, the formation of rolls and, at the end of the papyrus period, of codices. It may,

perhaps be useful to supplement the remarks made in the second chapter on punctuation and other subsidiary matters:—

Punctuation.—Stops in non-literary papyri are very rare; I only remember having seen one certain instance, in a fragment of an unpublished letter among the PP., now in Trinity College, Dublin.

Division of words.—An isolated exception to the rule for division of words at the end of a line is found in Louvre pap. 63, col. iv., line 3, where in the word ὠν|αῖς the division is made after the ν.

Abbreviations.—A method of abbreviation, somewhat different from those described by Mr. Kenyon on p. 33, should be noticed: it consists of representing a word by the first two, in some cases three, letters combined in a sort of monogram, and is of considerable importance, because it explains the origin of many of the sigla employed in non-literary documents: *e.g.* λιβός and ὀλύρων are often represented by Î and Æ respectively, ἱππαρχία by Π with I written through the middle of it; π sometimes square, more often semicircular, with a circle or dot in the centre stands for many words beginning with πο, such as πόλις, Πολέμων and the various parts of ποιεῖν; the symbol for πυροῦ was developed out of a semicircular π combined with the old Ptolemaic form of ν, which was written through the semicircle with its shallow curve above it—this form is found in some of the oldest Ptolemaic papyri—afterwards the curve of the ν was inverted for convenience in writing. Of special interest is a symbol consisting of an ε the upper curve of which is produced into a long vertical line on the right; it is really a combination of ε and π, and often stands for ἐπιστολή, but sometimes in the Petrie Papyri it has another meaning, which has not yet been explained; in my opinion it is used in these places for ἐπαλλαγή, a word, not found in this

sense in the dictionaries, meaning the charge made for changing silver into copper and *vice versa*. Another interesting form of abbreviation, found in inscriptions also, is that in which the final stroke of one letter is treated as the first of the next; *ἡμέρα*, for instance, and its cases, in several papyri of the third century B.C., are represented by the letters HME, the last stroke of the H forming the first vertical line of the M, and the second vertical line of the M being treated as the curve of the E.

The statement that "contraction, in the sense of the omission of the middle portion of words, such as occurs in mediæval Latin MSS., and in modern letters, is not found in Greek papyri" might be less strongly expressed: we may pass over such instances as *Βενικης* for *Βερενικης* in PP. I. xiv. and *Σαπειωι* in Brit. Mus. pap. I. xxxi. which are probably due to carelessness on the part of the writer,¹ but Mr. Grenfell, who, I believe, still adheres to his opinion that *βασσης* in *Greek Papyri* I. 24, l. 6, is a real contraction for *βασιλίσσης*, and not simply due to very cursive writing, has shown me a certain example of contraction in a papyrus which has *βακων* for *βασιλικων*.

The next chapter deals with the forms of writing characteristic of the three periods of non-literary papyrus palaeography, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine; the investigation is necessary because the evidence on which literary papyri are dated generally depends on our knowledge of non-literary forms, but, both because it is

¹ The instances quoted by A. Wilhelm from the first volume of Brit. Mus. papyri are probably due to the same cause. Some other apparent examples of contraction in that volume are not supported by the facsimiles; in pap. xxvii. I read in l. 2 *παπα* written out in full, for *πα*; and in l. 3 *παροντες* for *σπρες*, which Mr.

Kenyon gives as a contraction of *συνπαροντες*. It may be noticed that in the Logia fragment, *Oxyrhynchus* pap. I., the ecclesiastical contractions common in uncial MSS. are found, e.g. *ΙC* = *Ἰησοῦς*, *ΘT* = *Θεοῦ*, *ΠΡΑ* = *πατέρα*, etc. In App. iv. Mr. Kenyon assigns these contractions to late theological papyri, contemporary with vellum MSS.

better known and because it is less important, it is treated more briefly.

The chief requisite is a trained eye; by constant reading of dated documents a power is developed in the experienced palaeographer of assigning, almost as if by instinct, any non-literary writing to its proper date. This power, unfortunately, cannot be communicated to others, and the knowledge on which it is based is not easily conveyed by mere verbal description. It is probably due to this cause that Mr. Kenyon seems to lay too much stress on the special forms of certain test letters, and not enough on the general appearance and character of the writing as a whole. Thus nearly all the forms described as characteristic of the second century B.C., especially those of A, B, K, T, and Y, though perhaps not predominant, are nevertheless very common in the third. We may fairly generalise and extend one of Mr. Kenyon's remarks and say that, on the whole, little reliance can be placed on the forms of single letters at any period; while, on the other hand, the general appearance of the writing can hardly be mistaken.

The rest of the work is devoted to a careful and thorough examination of the whole series of extant literary papyri; the dates of these can in many cases be determined, within very close limits, by external evidence, in the use of which Mr. Kenyon displays great skill and ingenuity. Where evidence of this kind is lacking the problem of ascertaining the date of a literary document becomes very difficult; the number of such documents is comparatively small and, even among papyri which can be assigned to the same period, the appearance of the writing is often very diverse.

It has been pointed out that in the case of non-literary documents reliance on the forms of test letters is dangerous; in dealing with literary papyri it is even more

hazardous. To take a few examples:—Mr. Kenyon regards the letter Ξ as the most valuable test letter; on page 74 he says, "so far as the evidence goes at present, Ξ in Ptolemaic MSS. is invariably formed of three disconnected strokes, while in Roman MSS. it is equally invariably formed in one continuous whole. This rule at present holds good absolutely, though in palæographical matters isolated exceptions to any rule may always come to light," and in a footnote on the same page, "One of Mr. Grenfell's fragments . . . has the three strokes connected by a perpendicular line at right angles to them; but this is a still more archaic form, and does not in any way invalidate the principle here enunciated." Again in discussing the Herculaneum papyri, he says, "The evidence of Ξ is equally clear and unanimous, the letter being regularly formed of three distinct strokes. The only variation is that in some cases the central stroke is a horizontal line (shorter than the two others) while elsewhere it has the shape of a comma." An examination of Scott's *Fragmenta Herculaneusia* and of *Thirty-six engravings of Texts and Alphabets from the Herculaneum fragments* (ed. Nicholson, Oxford, 1891) has led me to a somewhat different conclusion; the forms of the letter do not seem so simple as Mr. Kenyon supposes, and its value as a test letter seems less than he would have us to believe. If the facsimiles and plates of alphabets can be trusted, this letter in the Herculaneum fragments is written sometimes with three, sometimes with two, sometimes with one stroke; in pap. 152 it closely resembles the archaic form described above, except that the cross stroke is not quite vertical; this document being a treatise by Philodemus himself cannot be older than the first century B.C.; on the other hand, among the unpublished Petrie papyri, there are four or five in which the letter is written in one stroke, proving that the form

confined by Mr. Kenyon to the Roman period may occur as early as the second century B.C. Of course the different forms described by him are predominant in the periods to which he assigns them, but they are not conclusive evidence of date.¹

Two other letters A and Y are perhaps even less trustworthy as test letters. Mr. Kenyon seems to consider (p. 73) that in literary papyri α written in one piece with rounded angles is a nearly certain indication that the writing belongs to the Roman period, and (p. 97) that the V-shape of Y cannot be earlier than the latter part of the first century A.D. Both these forms, however, are found in carefully written non-literary papyri of the third century B.C.² It is indeed probable that these forms owe their origin to rapid cursive, but when we find them employed at so early a date in documents which, though they are non-literary, yet were obviously written by trained scribes who sought to attain to a calligraphic style, it is easier to suppose that their apparent absence from literary papyri is due to the insufficiency of the evidence, than that they took three hundred years to make their influence felt.

These remarks have a special application in the case of the MS. of Herodas, assigned by Professor Blass to the Ptolemaic period on the ground of its frequent interchange of ι and $\epsilon\iota$; Mr. Kenyon has clearly pointed out the weakness of this argument and, partly because he thinks that the letters are wholly of the Roman type, places it in the first century or the first half of the second century A.D. For the reasons given above I cannot regard it as proved that the character of the writing of this MS. is necessarily and exclusively Roman, and though Mr. Kenyon's date is

¹ In the tessera published by the Palæographical Society, series ii. 142, the number should surely be $\Sigma\iota = 210$, and not $\xi\iota$ as it is there printed.

² For α see PP. I. xi. and xvii.,

which both belong to the year 235 B.C., and for V-shaped Υ , here found in combination with the Υ form, PP. I. xix. and xx., dated in the year 225 B.C.

probable, it is, nevertheless, not impossible that the MS. may be somewhat older.

On one other point I may be allowed to express an opinion different from that of Mr. Kenyon; on p. 54 he says that "in both Ptolemaic and Roman dates it must be remembered that the year always begins with the first of Thoth (= 29th August). Thus the first year of a sovereign lasted only from his accession to the 1st Thoth next ensuing." This statement is, I think, inaccurate in two respects: for, firstly, in the Ptolemaic period the year employed was the *annus vagus* of 365 days, without intercalation; the attempt of Euergetes, recorded in the Canopus inscription, to rectify the calendar was unsuccessful, and it was not till the introduction of the Julian calendar that a day was intercalated every fourth year; hence in years before this date the 1st Thouth did not correspond to the 29th August, but receded from it at the rate of one day in every four years; for instance in the year 300 B.C., the 1st Thouth = 6th November. And, secondly, in PP. I. xxviii. there is a document with the following date formula:—

βασιλευοντος Πτολεμαιου του Πτολεμ[αιου
και Αρσινοης θεων Αδελφων Λια ως δ [αι προσ-
οδοι Λιβ εφ ιερως Σελευκου του Αντι . . . ου Αλε-
ξανδρου και θεων Αδελφων και θεων Ευεργετων
και ηφορου Αρσινοης Φιλαδελφου [Ασ]πασιας της
Αθηγιωνος μηνος Φαμενωθ.

From this we learn that there were two different methods of counting the years of the king's reign; one of them was used in revenue returns, for which it is probable that the second year was counted from the 1st Thoth next after the accession of the king; for other purposes a different time, probably the anniversary of the accession itself, was chosen for the beginning of the year. It is important to notice

that it is according to the latter method that most of our extant documents are dated, for we know that in the twelfth year of Euergetes, Eucles, the son of Eubatas, was priest of Alexander, and Stratonice, the daughter of Callianax, was *canephorus* of Arsinoe. This conclusion finds additional support in a long document, not yet published, which contains a series of engineering contracts all separately dated in the second year of Euergetes; we may fairly assume that these contracts are arranged in chronological order, and that those on the *recto* are earlier than those on the *verso* of the papyrus, yet on the *recto* we find the 24th Mesore of the second year, and on the *verso* the 29th Phaophi and the 26th Athur; had the 1st Thouth, the month between Mesore and Phaophi, marked the beginning of a new year, these contracts on the *verso* would have been dated in the third year. It also follows from this that the priest of Alexander and the *canephorus* of Arsinoe were appointed according to the actual years of the king's reign and not according to the revenue year, because in all these contracts Tlepolemus, the son of Artapatus and Ptolemais, the daughter of Thuion, hold these offices. How long this double system prevailed it is difficult to conjecture; perhaps it was abandoned at the time when the Macedonian calendar was assimilated to the Egyptian, and the 1st Dius identified with the 1st Thouth, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II.

Appendix II. contains a complete and most useful catalogue of all known literary papyri, giving, when possible, their dates and the places where they are now preserved. The MS. of Cyril of Alexandria is, I regret to say, not in Dublin as stated in this Appendix and on page 118; when I saw it last spring, it was still in the possession of Professor Petrie.

Mr. Kenyon has accomplished a task of no small difficulty; his labour and assiduity can be appreciated only by

those who endeavour to follow his example, but the results of his work are of the first importance to a much larger class of scholars. It is now generally recognised that all who wish by emendation and textual criticism to restore the original words of the masters of Greek literature, must have some knowledge of the sources of the errors to which copyists are liable; in this book Mr. Kenyon has opened up for their investigation a period of nearly a thousand years, the study of which cannot fail to be profitable, and may lead to the solution of many hitherto inexplicable difficulties.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

THE AXIOMS OF GEOMETRY.

I.

AMONG the many services rendered by Kant to Philosophy, not certainly the least is the new light which he threw on the Method and Evidence of Mathematics.

The *à priori* character of the Science was, indeed, no new doctrine, though to Kant belongs the merit of first assigning the true philosophic ground on which this character depends.

But it was reserved for Kant¹ to point out that the Science, while *à priori*, is yet at the same time essentially synthetic; that its truths are not to be found by mere examination of our own thoughts, but require an appeal to actual facts no less real if of a different kind from that made by Physical Science.

This Kant showed, in the first place, by indicating among the recognized Axioms certain ones, notably "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space," which did not

¹ Locke may, perhaps, be excepted here. In his distinction of Relation from Identity as separate grounds of Agreement of Ideas, in his reference of mathematical theorems to the former head, and still more in the remarkable phrase in which he characterises mathematical theorems as "necessary consequences of a precise complex Idea, though not contained in it" (a phrase which may be fairly called the Lockian counterpart of Kant's 'synthetic *à priori*'), Locke may certainly claim

an anticipation of Kant's doctrine as to the synthetic nature of geometry.

His unfortunate term of 'Agreement,' however, in combination with that of 'Ideas,' tended to obscure for him this doctrine, and, indeed, generally the distinction between analytic and synthetic, which he sometimes realises so clearly. Hence the doctrine in question remained for him an aperçu merely, not a consistently supported theory, as with Kant.

admit of analytic explanation; and secondly, by his clear detection and accentuation of the Principle of Movement of the Science as lying in the construction of Concepts in Intuition.

The great step thus taken has proved a permanent acquisition in Philosophy. Since Kant's time the advocates of the *à priori* nature of Mathematical Cognition, no less than those who recognize no essential difference between it and the Physical Sciences, admit the necessity of reference to Experience, though for the former school this reference lies to the Form, for the latter to the Matter, of Experience.

Two causes have operated to prevent Kant's merits as regards the Philosophy of Mathematics from meeting with the recognition which they deserve.

One is, that Kant's doctrine of Mathematics has been regarded too little for itself, and only as part of his general system of Metaphysics.

The other lies in the mistaken notion that Kant's sole aim was directed to vindicate the *à priori* character of mathematical cognition, the meaning of the term '*à priori*' as used by him being also misconceived.

Kant does, indeed, insist that mathematical cognitions are *à priori* to the matter of Perception—the data, sc. which we receive immediately and passively from it, such data rather requiring these cognitions as the presupposition of their possibility. But though *à priori* to the Matter of Experience, these cognitions are not *à priori* to the Form of Perception; rather they are the expression of this Form.

Mathematics, from the Kantian point of view, might thus be defined as the Science which experiments on the Form of Intuition. This Form it must accept as actual, as Physical Science does the concrete facts with which it has to deal. The student of Geometry can no more derive his knowledge from books alone than the physical student

can. If the latter must make or understand experiments, the former must make or follow constructions.

Kant is thus while the staunchest champion of the *à priori* certainty of Mathematics, yet in another aspect the pioneer of the Empirical School.

Hence it comes that there is much in the writings of this school (I may cite, for example, Mill's discussions on the nature and presuppositions of Algebra and the true meaning of the formulæ of Arithmetic) with which a Kantian might cordially agree, dwelling, as they do, on the necessity of that synthetical element to which Kant first drew attention.

At the same time the superiority of the Kantian doctrine, both in depth and completeness, is, I think, apparent.

This is most strikingly shown in Mill's attempt to account for the certainty of geometrical propositions.

Following Dugald Stewart, he construes this certainty as hypothetical—we assert, according to this theory, not that the empirical geometrical objects actually conform to the theorems of Geometry, but that they would do so if they exactly corresponded to the ideal objects.

Here it is natural to observe that this hypothetical certainty is either no certainty at all, or must rest at bottom on an actual certainty. To say, in other words, that empirical geometrical objects would exhibit mathematical properties if they were identical with the ideal objects is to say that these latter actually do so.

Whence then do we derive this assurance?

Mill replies by referring to the Inductive Method of Concomitant Variations; we cannot, he admits, actually verify the theorems of Geometry in their application to their true or ideal objects, but by continually approximating the empirical to the true we may obtain Inductive certainty that could the approximation be carried to coincidence these theorems would obtain exactly.

This theory, however, plainly fails to meet the facts of the case.

In the first place, regarding it from the subjective point of view, a process so artificial as that described by Mill, as has been well observed, does not in any way correspond with the directness and immediacy of our assent to the axioms of Geometry.

We might even add, that were Mill's theory true, these axioms, to judge by the analogy of truths actually established by this method, should, when first enunciated, appear to us not as intuitive truths, but as startling paradoxes.

But perhaps a more serious difficulty encounters us when we consider the claim of Mill's hypothesis to give objective certainty in the only form in which he admits it, viz. that of Induction.

He has himself here, in fact, cut the ground from under his own feet.

For he had previously expressly stated that the ideal objects of Geometry are not only not given in actual experience, but that we do not know that they are even possible. Now, if this be so, the ultimate ground of even Inductive certainty disappears.

An example from Physics will illustrate my meaning.

The Science of Heat leads by continuity of observed laws to the conception of a certain temperature of air, known as the absolute zero, as corresponding to total deprivation of heat. We do not, however, on this account, assert that at this temperature the air would lose all its heat, since we do not know that such a state is possible for any body.

I have dwelt the more on this difficulty, as it presses not personally on Mill, but generally on the ordinary Empirical school, which seeks the laws of mathematics in the matter, not the form, of experience.

Once we adopt this view we can only obtain the proper objects of Geometry by abstracting from the real objects of experience properties which, so far as experience goes, we have no right to abstract.

The true nature of mathematical objects is, as Kant pointed out, that of boundaries, viz. of portions of space occupied by possible empirical objects.

Viewed in this light, the characteristics of position without extension of any kind, length without breadth, superficial without solid extension, are seen to be as necessary as in the other point of view they are chimerical.

The objects of Pure Mathematics are thus not given empirically as material data of experience, but they are seen intuitively to be the presuppositions of such material data. In a word, the view of mathematical objects as boundaries coincides with the Kantian doctrine of the dependence of mathematical cognition on the form of space.¹

And that this is the true view² of their nature would appear when we consider the very processes (*e.g.* those described by Mill) by which the Empirical School attempts to account for mathematical theorems. For in the supposed

¹ It is curious to find that Kant notes that those who hold the Transcendental Reality of Space in the form of Inherence are not only unable to explain the *à priori* character of mathematical judgments, but are even led to doubt their actual truth, on account of the problematical aspect which the objects of Geometry necessarily present to them. Mill, of course, was not an adherent of this school, but he shared their *πρώτον ψεύδος*, that of regarding space and its properties as contingent data. Hence the same criticism is applicable to him.

² Those who are familiar with Shadworth Hodgson's *Time and Space* will recognize my indebtedness to this work

in regard to the nature of the objects of geometry.

I would especially draw attention to his admirable distinction between the true geometrical objects, viz. the boundaries of concrete empirical bodies belonging to these as inseparable elements and, what we may call, the spurious objects which arise when we endeavour to reproduce the true by abstraction from the concrete empirical bodies.

The physical lath can never become a mathematical line, but it must always be conceived as bounded by mathematical lines. The Empirical School thus looks for the objects of Geometry in the wrong direction.

empirical experiments, as to the space enclosing power of empirical lines, rods that is or laths, it is manifest that it is not these rods themselves, but their boundaries with which we have in each case to deal. For it is only by bounding surfaces, not by tridimensional objects, as such, that space can be enclosed.

But though Kant thus, as I believe, laid once for all the foundations of the true theory of geometrical demonstration, he does so incidentally only, his object being ultimately metaphysical, viz. to point, on the one hand, to mathematics as a signal instance of synthetic cognition *à priori*, and to show, on the other, that the peculiar methods of Mathematics cannot be imitated with success by Philosophy.

Hence I conceive it is that while drawing attention to the synthetic character of some of the axioms, he is content to regard the rest as mainly analytical.

When, however, we proceed, following Kant's advice elsewhere, to fill out, as dutiful scholars, the outline traced by the master, we are compelled to go further than Kant has done, and recognize a larger synthetic element in the axioms than he admitted.

It is my object, in the present paper, to show that this is the case, by treating the synthetic element of Geometry in more detail.

II. In considering this question, we may conveniently refer to the list of Axioms as given in Euclid. The question whether our old and venerated friend, Euclid's Elements, may not now with advantage be superseded, for purposes of geometrical instruction, by a more modern text-book, is one which certainly admits of discussion, though I am myself disposed to think that the "Elements," with suitable revision and comments, still forms as good an introduction to Geometry as anything we can put in its place. But whatever opinion we form on this matter, the fundamental

assumptions, which underly and render possible all subsequent geometrical proof, must be recognized as substantially the same by all geometers, and find in the Elements sufficiently concise and compact statement.

The lists of fundamental assumptions consist in Euclid, as is well known, of two parts—the Postulates (*Αἰτήματα*) and the Axioms (*Κοινὰ Ἐννοιαί*). The division between these two has not, it may be remarked, been always the same.

It is, indeed, curious that, in the fine trilingual edition of Peyrard (Paris, 1814), which professes to reproduce with some care the original text of Euclid, the axioms that two straight lines cannot enclose a space and that on parallel lines, as also that of the equality of right angles are placed, not among the *Κοινὰ Ἐννοιαί*, but among the *Αἰτήματα*.

This seems to show that the principle of division was not, as is sometimes supposed, that between problems and theorems, but between assumptions found necessary for the special purpose of Geometry, yet which could not themselves be proved, except by other assumptions not more evident, and general notions respecting quantity which would at once be accepted on statement. This difference seems to correspond with the Imperative form, which characterizes the Postulates (*Αἰτήματα*), as distinguished from the Categorical, which occurs in the *Κοινὰ Ἐννοιαί*.

We may now conveniently take the two lists as given by Peyrard, in what he conceives to be their original form:—

AITHMATA.

(α') *Ἡτῆσθω ἀπὸ παντὸς σημείου ἐπὶ πᾶν σημείον εὐθεῖαν γραμμὴν ἀγαγεῖν.*

(β') *καὶ πεπερασμένην εὐθεῖαν ἐπ' εὐθείας κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐκβάλλειν.*

(γ') *καὶ παντὶ κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι κύκλον γράφεσθαι.*

(δ') *καὶ πάσας τὰς ὀρθὰς γωνίας ἴσας ἀλλήλαις εἶναι.*

(ε') καὶ ἐὰν εἰς δύο εὐθείας εὐθειά τις ἐμπίπτουσα τὰς ἐντός καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη γωνίας δύο ὀρθῶν ἐλάσσονας ποιῇ, ἐκβαλλομένης τὰς δύο εὐθείας ἐπ' ἄπειρον συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις ἐφ' ἃ μέρη εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν δύο ὀρθῶν ἐλάσσονες γωνίαι.

(ζ') καὶ δύο εὐθείας χωρίον μὴ περιέχειν.

KOINAI ENNOIAI.

(α') τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἴσα.

(β') καὶ ἐὰν ἴσοις ἴσα προστεθῇ τὰ ὅλα ἐστὶν ἴσα.

(γ') καὶ ἐὰν ἀπὸ ἴσων ἴσα ἀφαιρεθῇ τὰ καταλειπόμενά ἐστιν ἴσα.

(δ') καὶ ἐὰν ἀνίσοις ἴσα προστεθῇ τὰ ὅλα ἐστὶν ἄνισα.

(ε') καὶ ἐὰν ἀπὸ ἀνίσων ἴσα ἀφαιρεθῇ τὰ λοιπά ἐστιν ἄνισα.

(ς') καὶ τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διπλάσια, ἴσα ἀλλήλοις ἐστί.

(ζ') καὶ τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμίση ἴσα ἀλλήλοις ἐστί.

(η') καὶ τὰ ἐφαρμόζοντα ἐπ' ἄλληλα, ἴσα ἀλλήλοις ἐστί.

(θ') καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους μεῖζόν ἐστι.

The Postulates we may for the present dismiss, as their synthetic character will be admitted.

Turning then to the *Koinai Ennoiai*, we observe that they are all concerned with the conception of equality and the derivative conceptions of greater and less, double and half.

As simplest and most fundamental, we may commence with "Coincidents are equal."

This proposition is, no doubt, analytical. There is, however, an ambiguity respecting analytical propositions which requires to be pointed out, and which is not sufficiently recognized in the logical text-books.

The gist of an analytical proposition may, in fact, be two-fold. It may, on the one hand, assert that the comprehension of the predicate supposed clearly understood is found to be contained in that of the subject. This is the case ordinarily considered in treating of analytical propositions. It is exemplified, *e.g.* in Kant's "All bodies are extended," or in Locke's "Where there is no property there is no injustice."

On the other hand, the purport of the proposition may be to give for the first time a definite meaning to the predicate, by indicating members in extension which are to be placed under it, the proposition thus, in fact, forming part of a proposed definition of the predicate by extension.

Thus, in "Iron is a metal" (understanding metal in its popular, not its chemical sense), we do not mean to assert that a certain quality, the metallic, forms part of our concept of Iron, but that the group "metal" may be defined as containing certain substances, of which iron is one; gold, silver, &c., others.

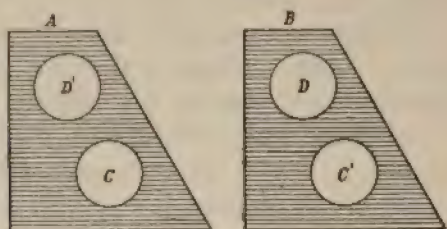
If, now, we apply these remarks to the case before us, we shall, I think, be led to conclude that the axiom "Coincidents are equal" belongs to the second, not to the first class of analytical propositions. Its true bearing is not to assert that a known concept, that of equality, is included in that of coincidence, but rather to begin to expound the concept of equality by adducing its first and simplest type, coincidence.

This exposition is now carried further in the axioms which assert that the sums and differences of equals are equal. Here, however, we have to note two cases which require distinct treatment. The first occurs where the two magnitudes, which are to be shown to be equal, can be divided into parts separately coincident, and occupying similar positions with respect to their wholes. The axiom is in this case a synthetical proposition, the force of which is to assert that, under the above circumstances, the magnitudes themselves coincide, and, therefore, come under the original definition of equality.

The second case is where the coincident parts are differently situated with respect to their wholes, so that these latter are not coincident, though the separate parts are. Here the axiom is analytical, its purport being to extend the concept of equality to the case of non-coincident wholes

resolvable into separately coincident parts. The axiom might then be thus expressed: "By equal magnitudes are to be understood not those alone which coincide, but those which can be resolved into sums or differences of separately coincident parts."

Though, however, the axiom as thus stated is analytical, there is a synthetical proposition which deserves notice, viz. that equality by difference, as we may term it, is resolvable into equality by sum.



Thus, let A , B be two areas capable of coincidence, C , D two other areas, also capable of coincidence, but differently posited with respect to the two areas A , B . Take now two other areas C' , D' , capable of coincidence with one another and with C , D , and so placed that D' in A occupies the same position as D in B , and C in B the same as C in A . It is now manifest that the shaded spaces in the two figures are equal by coincidence. If now we add to these equals the equals D' , C' , we obtain the equality of the spaces bounded by the contours of A and C with that bounded by those of B and D , *i.e.* the equality of the difference of A and C with the difference of their respective equals B and D .

The nature of the axioms respecting greater and less, double and half, can be easily deduced from those already discussed. There remains that which stands at the head

of Euclid's list, "Equals to the same are equal to one another."

This proposition is again analytic. But its analytical character is so far from dispensing with the necessity for synthetical propositions that it essentially requires them.

It is, in fact, analytical, not now as a definition, but as the statement of a *sine quâ non*, to which all definitions of equality must conform.

So understood, the axiom might be read: "The definition of equality between two magnitudes must be such, that if satisfied by the pair A, B and the pair B, C , it is likewise satisfied by the pair A, C ." If, now, this requirement could from the first be embodied in the definition no subsidiary synthetic propositions would be required. This, however, cannot be done.

A mathematical definition must always carry with it the possibility of the thing defined. It will, therefore, always require to be established, that the relation assumed as the definition of equality between two satisfies the above requirement as between three.

To apply this now to the axioms already considered.

In the case of equality by coincidence the requirement of Axiom I. is evidently satisfied, since possible coincidence of A, B and of B, C will imply that of A, C . The inference, however, elementary as it is, is clearly synthetical.

Proceeding next to equality by sum or difference, the first or simplest case we found to be reducible, but synthetically, to the type of equality by coincidence. The test of Axiom I. is then satisfied here, as we saw that it was satisfied for that type.

When, however, we pass to the second case, that of non-coincident wholes formed by separately coincident parts, it will be found that a new synthetical proposition is required, which might be stated as follows: "If the magnitudes A, B can be exhibited as the sums or

differences of equal parts, and if the magnitudes B, C can likewise be so exhibited, then A, C can be so exhibited."

This proposition can also be established by diagrams, thus showing its true synthetical character.

Again, take the application of the principle to ratios.

Equal ratios are defined (the word used in the original is not 'equal,' but 'identical,' but the verbal difference is unimportant) by the famous definition of Proportion, which is a standing monument at once of Greek acumen in detecting a difficulty, and of Greek resource in meeting it.

Here, again, there is nothing in the definition itself which contemplates more than two ratios.

We therefore require a subsidiary synthetic proposition, though one easily proved, viz. that, when we consider three ratios, such that the definition holds as between the first and second, and between the second and third, it holds between the first and third.

I may be allowed, in illustration, if not in proof of the position taken here, to pass to the case of the Physical Sciences, these exhibiting the synthesis required by, though not expressed in, the axiom, in a still more striking manner.

Thus we may define equal weights as those which balance in symmetrical scales. But, in order to be entitled to infer that if the weights A, B are equal according to this definition, and likewise the weights B, C , then the weights A, C are equal requires the proposition now evidently synthetic *à posteriori*. "If A in symmetrical scales counterpoise B , and B counterpoise C , then A will counterpoise C ."

Or take the case of thermo-dynamics. Here equal temperatures of A, B are defined by the statement that when A, B are placed in juxtaposition, neither suffers any temperature change.

The synthetic *à posteriori* proposition which we now

have to establish is, that if the phenomenon of non-disturbance of temperature obtains on juxtaposition of *A*, *B*, and also on juxtaposition of *B*, *C*, it obtains on juxtaposition of *A*, *C*.

We are thus enabled to see (as I remarked in a previous paper on the Measure of Time) the true function of the concept of Equality with which, as we have seen the *Kotivai* "Ervoiai" are all concerned. This may be described as the determination of definite quantity of what is generally apprehended as a homogeneous quantum, such as length, superficial extension, volume.

This is effected by measure, and the possibility of measure implies, firstly, that we can assert equality of the parts of the measured whole with a common unit of measurement; secondly, that we may then assert their equality with each other. This latter requirement is that which finds expression in the first of the *Kotivai* "Ervoiai". These may, in fact, be described in general as laying down the framework of the requisites for determination of quantity. They are thus themselves analytical, not, however, in the ordinary sense of explicating a given concept, but rather of forming it by extensive definition.

And in this process of formation distinctly synthetical propositions have been shown to be largely involved, though they are not what the axioms directly express.

III. To revert now to the Postulates.

Here the synthetic element is express and unquestioned. Something, however, requires to be said as to the true nature and bearing of the assumptions they make.

The postulates may be regarded as claiming the right to traverse space to any extent, and in all directions. One important application of this right is expressed in the axiom, of which Kant was the first to signalise the importance—"Two right lines cannot enclose a space."

On this axiom Kant makes the well-known comment,

that it cannot be deduced from the mere concept of a line, but requires a synthesis in space.

Admitting the truth of this comment, it yet cannot fail to raise the question—What is the concept of a right line: can a right line be defined, and if so, what is its definition?

Here we shall in vain, I fear, seek light from the pages of the Elements. These only vouchsafe us that “a right line is that which lies evenly between its extremities.”

If this be intended as anything more than a mere descriptive guide to the reader, not constructing the subject of the concept, but only suggesting the real construction, it is an egregious *petitio principii*. For we could not otherwise explain the term “lying evenly” than by lying as a right line would do. Let us, however, turn for light, as before, to the first application of the axiom, viz. in I. 4.

In the first part of the proof it is only assumed that the two sides of the first triangle can be superposed on the corresponding sides of the second, the coincidence of the base extremities then following from the given equalities. So far, therefore, the demonstration would hold if the sides in place of right lines were any superposable curves, *e.g.* arcs of circles of the same curvature. The axiom special to right lines is only brought in when we infer from the coincidence of the basal extremities the complete coincidence of the bases themselves.

This would appear to suggest the definition, Right lines are lines (understanding by ‘lines’ generally the intersection of superficies) which possess the properties—
(*a*) any one can be applied to any other so as to coincide
(*b*) that they will be so applied whenever two points of one coincide with two points of the other.

The fact that such lines exist is then what is asserted by the axiom.

This will, perhaps, be found not very different from the ingenious suggestion of the late Professor James Thomson,

who proposed to define the right line joining the two points A, B in any body as the locus of points in the body which remain at rest when the body is rotated, the points A, B being kept fixed.

Lastly, we come to consider the famous axiom respecting parallel lines.

The difficulty which has always been experienced in this axiom arises from the fact that it neither itself possesses the luminous self-evidence of "Two right lines cannot enclose a space," nor appears readily deducible from any other axiom which has this self-evidence.

This difficulty does not seem to have been keenly felt by the early Greek geometers. The postulates (*Airήματα*) were put forward by them, not as propositions which would necessarily command assent, but as indispensable assumptions, in the enunciation of which clearness of statement and economy, *i.e.* reduction of the postulates to the smallest possible number, were the objects at which they aimed, and which, it must be admitted, they have in great measure attained. But in modern times the apparent lack of self-evidence of this axiom was felt as a stumbling-block, though rather as interfering with the beauty and completeness of the mathematical edifice than from any suspicion of its insecurity, and various other assumptions were proposed as substitutes.

From the time of Kant, however, the matter has acquired a new significance.

If, as I have endeavoured to show, the true scope of Kant's doctrine is to make geometry depend for its basis on fundamental experiments on the Form of Intuition, the results of these experiments should clearly be unequivocal. The obscurity of the axiom on parallels would in this view constitute a formidable objection to the reception of the Kantian theory of the evidence of mathematics. It would appear, in fact, to indicate that here at least the

appeal to the Form of Intuition breaks down, and that we must perforce have recourse to the Matter if we are to have any secure ground for our assumption. So far, indeed, it might be said that, not Mathematics itself, but only the Philosophy of Mathematics, is concerned.

Quite recently, however, a school has arisen which, carrying out this view of the dependence of Mathematics on the Matter, not on the Form of Intuition, to its logical conclusion has consistently proceeded to question the ultimate validity of the mathematical theorems themselves, regarding them as practical approximations, quite sufficiently true for ordinary purposes, but distinctly admitting of question when their range is extended sufficiently far, so that, *e.g.*, it may be questioned whether a triangle whose sides were of the order of the distances of the fixed stars might not have angles whose sum deviated by an appreciable amount from two right angles.

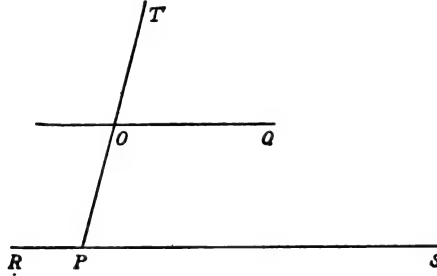
The equality of the sum of the angles of a triangle to two right angles is, in fact, an immediate deduction from the Axiom of Parallels. And it is notoriously the rejection of this axiom, and the consequences this rejection carries with it, which form the distinguishing feature of what is known as the non-Euclidean Geometry.

It is therefore necessary to examine whether the issue of the experiment on the Form of Intuition which the axiom embodies is really at all dubious.

For this purpose it is desirable, in the first place, to put the axiom in its proper place, *i.e.* not at the commencement of B. I., but between I. 27, 28, which treat of conditions under which right lines will be parallel, and I. 29, which states properties of parallel lines.

Consider, in fact, as in figure, an indefinite base line RS met in P by a right line OP drawn from a fixed point O above it. Let now a line pivoted on O turn continuously round O till it assumes the position characterized by the

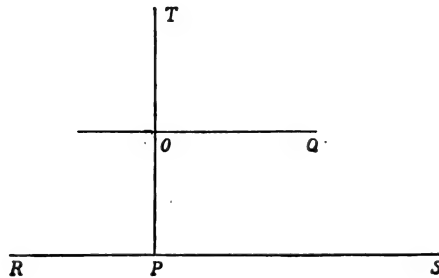
obviously equivalent conditions $POQ = OPR$, $QOT = OPS$, $QOP + OPS = \text{two right angles}$.



Then it is established in I. 27, 28, without any employment of the axiom, that when the turning line has arrived at this position it will be parallel to the base line RPS .

The axiom now comes in (I. 29), to assert that this position is unique, *i.e.* that the turning line will form continuously with OP all angles smaller than POQ , still meeting the base line RPS . This, again, may be briefly stated in the form "Only one parallel to RPS can be drawn through O ."

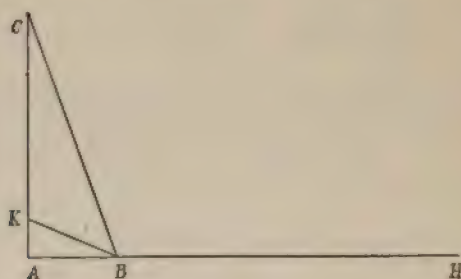
The following considerations may, perhaps, place the nature of the assumption here made in a clearer light:—



I take, for convenience, the traverse OP as perpendicular to the base line RPS , a supposition manifestly otherwise legitimate. Let now the point S be taken on

the base line successively farther and farther from P . The subject of controversy then clearly is, whether the angle POS , which, of course, continually increases, *can be made as nearly a right angle as we please.*

Consider now a right-angled triangle CAB , and take on AC , AK a successively smaller and smaller submultiple of AB . Then it is obvious, by continuity, that AKB can be indefinitely approximated to a right angle. If now



we assume that the same will hold for the angle ACH formed by joining C to H where AH is an ever increasing multiple of AB corresponding to the submultiple AK before, it is evident that the proposition in italics above is substantiated.

The principle here assumed might be termed that of Enlargement, and might be stated in the following more general form:—If in a triangle ABC the vertical angle be preserved the same while the sides CA , CB are enlarged by any common multiple, the base angles will remain the same. This principle is now, I believe, one which would, on enunciation, be immediately accepted, being in fact an expression of the Form of Space Intuition. It is, indeed, similar in kind to that which has already been appealed to in the axiom, "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space." For in saying this we assume it to be true not only for

certain finite lines with which we start, but however far those lines may be enlarged, *i.e.* produced.

IV. In conclusion, it seems natural to touch briefly on the bearing of the foregoing remarks on the theory of non-Euclidean Geometry to which I have alluded, though, of course, a full discussion of this theory is not possible here.

I would say then shortly, that this theory seems to me to suffer from the same fundamental difficulties as its less logical predecessor, as expounded by Mill; those, I mean, which arise from the nature of geometrical objects. I have tried to show, and the remark holds, I conceive, equally for both schools, that when we endeavour to obtain these by abstraction from objects materially given us by experience, we either deprive the science of objective basis, in case we do not admit the ultimate possibility of these abstractions; or, on the other hand, admitting this possibility, really leave the ground of Experience, and deal with chimeras to which she gives no countenance.

We seem thus driven to admit that the true objects of Geometry are not the material data of Experience, but the formal presuppositions of these data. This seems further confirmed when we consider that the very experiments, *e.g.* on space enclosing power which it is proposed to make with the concrete matter of experience are only intelligible when we substitute for this concrete matter its boundaries, that is to say, its form. If, then, we must admit the doctrine of a Form of Intuition, the synthetical axioms of Geometry will be the expression of this form, provided they commend themselves with intuitive clearness. The only apparent exception to this, that of the axiom on parallel lines, I have endeavoured to show is not really such.

Kant's theory, with whatever additional support it derives from his arguments on the metaphysical nature of

Space, may then, I contend, be said to hold the field as the true account of the basis of Geometry.

The non-Euclidean school, on the other hand, can at best throw doubt on the Euclidean, and thus, in fact, on all Geometry. It cannot legitimately construct a Geometry of its own, for, as I have said, we cannot, in the last resort, demonstrate on hypothesis, and, abandoning the Form of Space which, if admitted, certainly supplies the ultimate ground we require, the non-Euclidean has no form of its own by which to replace it.

In fact, it has always seemed to me that the constructive part of the non-Euclidean Geometry really moves, and can only move, by means of the Euclidean.

FREDERICK PURSER.

NOTES ON ARISTOTLE'S *PARVA NATURALIA*.

448^b, 19-22. τὸ δ' ἅμα λέγω ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ ἀτόμῳ χρόνῳ πρὸς ἄλληλα. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἄρ' ὧδ' ἐνδέχεται, ἅμα μὲν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ οὐ τῷ ἀτόμῳ, οὕτω δ' ἀτόμῳ ὥς παντὶ ὄντι συνεχεῖ;—(BEKKER).

THESE last words (καὶ . . . συνεχεῖ) are, as they stand, inexplicable. It appears to me that οὐ τῷ ἀτόμῳ is but the shadow of οὕτω δ' ἀτόμῳ, and should be ejected. The article (τῷ) has no possible meaning. Omitting these words, we should place the remainder of the clause, καὶ . . . συνεχεῖ, immediately after ἄλληλα. The translation then is: "By simultaneously [perceiving two objects] I mean [doing so] in a time which is one and relatively (πρὸς ἄλληλα) indivisible: indivisible in the sense not inconsistent with its forming a *continuum*." Thus the words have a natural and necessary application as further defining ἀτόμῳ χρόνῳ, an expression peculiarly requiring justification. To Aristotle no time is really ἄτομος. Every time (and perception takes place in time) is a continuous quantity, and therefore really divisible. But simultaneous perception of different objects means that they should be perceived *together*, in one and the same time with one another, the perceptions of both synchronising, neither being one instant before or after the other. This time is ἄτομος in the sense in which the word is used in Aristotle's Logic, namely, as = *individual*, not *indivisible*. For want of the distinction which we can mark by these two terms Aristotle had to introduce the appended explanation of ἀτόμῳ χρόνῳ. The χρόνος spoken of is not *really*, but only *logically*, indivisible. For the logical use of ἄτομος, cf.

supra, 448^a, 3, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτόμῳ: *Anal. Post.* II. xiii. 96^b, 11, εἰ τοίνυν μηδενὶ ὑπάρχει ἄλλῃ ἢ ταῖς ἀτόμοις τριάσιν: *Categ.* 5, 3^a, 37, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων οὐσιῶν τὸ μὲν εἶδος κατὰ τοῦ ἀτόμου κατηγορεῖται, τὸ δὲ γένος κατὰ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀτόμου (the specific name is predicated of the individual, the generic name, of both the species and the individual). For the real *indivisibility* of time, cf. *Physics*, IV. xi. 219^a, 12, διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὸ μέγεθος εἶναι συνεχές, καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἐστι συνεχής, διὰ δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ὁ χρόνος; 239^a, 9, ἅπας δὲ χρόνος εἰς ἅπειρα μεριστός.

448^b, 24-30. πλείω τε μέρος ἔξει εἶδει ταῦτά; . . . ἔτι αἰσθήσεις αἱ αὐταὶ πλείους ἔσονται κ. τ. ἐ.—(BEKKER).

The proposed solution of simultaneous perception of different objects (that the soul perceives both together, but with integrally different parts of itself) is met with two objections. The first of these is introduced by πλείω τε κ. τ. ἐ.; the second by ἔτι αἰσθήσεις. That ἔτι should thus answer τε is not without example in Aristotle: cf. *Phys.* VII. iv. 248^a, 19-22, ἀτοπὸν τε γὰρ, εἰ μὴ ἔστι κύκλῳ ὁμοίως τουτὶ κινεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθείας, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη ἢ θάττον ἢ βραδύτερον, ὥσπερ εἰ κάταντες, τὸ δ' ἄναντες. ἔτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κ. τ. ἐ. So in other places τε is answered by δέ. This being so, where is the need, with Baümker (approved by Susemihl) to read γε instead of τε here? Biehl actually prints γε, though what it means I confess I do not see.

448^b, 26-27. εἰ δὲ ὅτι ὡς δύο ὄμματα φαίη τις, οὐδὲν κωλύει, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅτι ἴσως ἐκ μὲν τούτων ἓν τι γίνεται κ. τ. λ.—(BEKKER).

As the second ὅτι commences the rejoinder to εἰ δὲ ὅτι, I think we should read <ἢ> ὅτι. The conjunction might easily have been omitted after ψυχῇ. This change would add some clearness to a passage which sorely needs it.

450^a, 13. ὥστε τοῦ νοουμένου κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἂν εἴη, καθ' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητικοῦ.—(BEKKER).

For νοουμένου (which cannot be defended) Zeller conjectured νοοῦντος, or νοῦ, and Biehl, after the 'intellectivi' of the Vetus Trans., prints νοητικοῦ. Better, perhaps, would be διανοουμένου. Compare 459^a, 8, ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ δοξάζοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ διανοουμένου τὸ πάθος τοῦτο δὲ καλοῦμεν ἐνυπνιάζειν φανερόν. As we know from *De Anima* 408^b, 24-27, τὸ διανοεῖσθαι is a process inferior to the energy of νοῦς in the special sense; yet it is an intellectual, as opposed to a sensible process, and διανοουμένου, if it requires further support here, may find all it needs below in τῶν νοητικῶν μορίων (*16).

451^b, 10-16. συμβαίνουσι δ' αἱ ἀναμνήσεις, ἐπειδὴ πέφυκεν ἡ κίνησις ἢδε γενέσθαι μετὰ τήνδε· εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, δῆλον ὡς ὅταν ἐκείνη κινηθῇ, τήνδε τὴν κίνησιν κινηθήσεται.—(BIEHL).

Here for ἐκείνη we should read ἐκείνην. Κίνησις γίγνεται, not κινεῖται. Of course, such expressions as τὸ κινούμενον ταύτην τὴν κίνησιν κινεῖται, or τὸ κινεῖν ταύτην τὴν κίνησιν κινεῖ, where κίνησιν is used quasi-adverbially, and where something else (not κίνησις) is subject or object of the verb, will not disturb one's convictions on this head. Aristotle himself, *Phys.* v. ii. 225^b, 15, writes: οὐκ ἔστι κινήσεως κίνησις οὐδὲ γενέσεως γένεσις, οὐδ' ὅλως μεταβολὴ μεταβολῆς. The fact that all of the six codd. (except the despised U) read ἐκείνη here, shows how little the best MSS. are to be trusted sometimes. To the above considerations in favour of ἐκείνην, it may be added that Themistius has the accusative; and why, indeed, should the subject of κινηθῇ be different from that of κινηθήσεται? Themistius takes ἡ ψυχὴ as subject of both, and this is perfectly natural. We could not say ἢδε ἡ κίνησις κινηθήσεται, but we can very well say (and Aristotle here does say) [ἡ ψυχὴ] τήνδε τὴν κίνησιν κινηθήσεται.

Ibid. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶. συμβαίνει δ' ἐνίοις ἅπαξ ἐθισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλους πολλάκις κινουμένους· διὸ ἐνία ἅπαξ ἰδόντες μᾶλλον μνημονεύομεν ἢ ἕτερα πολλάκις.

With this (Bekker's) text διὸ, as Freudenthal observes, makes no sense. Aristotle could not have argued that, "because some persons have better memories than others, therefore some things are more easily remembered than others." The simplest change would be that of ἐνίοις to ἐνίας, ¹⁴, and ἄλλους to ἄλλας, ¹⁵, understanding κινήσεις with both, as "accus. of inner object," after κινουμένους. The sense is then perfectly natural: first, the general statement in terms of κινήσεις: next, its particular illustration and confirmation in terms of ὄρασεις. Freudenthal would read ἐνίας . . . ἐτέρας, agreeing with κινήσεις, but he spoils his proposal by going on to read κινουμένας, after the κινουμένης of Themistius, making the κινήσεις themselves subject to ἐθισθῆναι, and what is far worse (see preceding note), making κινήσεις agree with κινουμένας.

Aristotle, in the so-called *Parva Naturalia*, as well as in the *De Anima*, advocates a theory of representative perception, which, in reference to the phenomena of memory and dreaming, involves re-representation in all degrees. The illusoriness of dreams is (*De Insomniis*, iii. 461^b, 20-30) explained as resulting from our inclination to mistake certain *re*-representative, or merely fictitious, φαντάσματα for representative, and to refer them to actual objects. The epistemological character of memory (its validity for objective knowledge) is referred (*De Mem.* i. 450^a, 25-451^a, 15) to τύποι in the 'mind,' which, when we remember, re-represent the objects and events of the past. The determination of events in time is (*De Mem.* ii. 452^b, 7-24) explained by the assumption of representative (and re-representative) 'inner' κινήσεις, which, being 'analogous' to 'distances' (ἀποστήματα) of time, are joined by

association with the *τύποι* of events, thus enabling us to think these with their proper dates. Such time-*κινήσεις* are therefore of high importance for the knowledge of the past, and are of the greatest service when we make the effort to recall it to mind. I transcribe from Biehl's text part of the last of the three passages referred to, my purpose here being to endeavour to relieve it of some of the difficulties with which it has been hitherto surrounded:—

ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ τὴν AB BE κινεῖται, ποιεῖ τὴν ΓΔ· ἀνάλογον γὰρ ἡ ΑΓ καὶ ἡ ΓΔ. τί οὖν μᾶλλον τὴν ΓΔ ἢ τὴν ΖΗ ποιεῖ; ἢ ὥς ἡ ΑΖ πρὸς τὴν AB ἔχει, οὕτως ἡ [τὸ] Θ πρὸς τὴν Μ ἔχει. ταύτας οὖν ἅμα κινεῖται. ἂν δὲ τὴν ΖΗ βούληται νοῆσαι, τὴν μὲν BE ὁμοίως νοεῖ, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ΘΙ τὰς ΚΑ νοεῖ· αὗται γὰρ ἔχουσιν ὡς ΖΑ πρὸς ΒΑ.

ὅταν οὖν ἅμα ἡ τε τοῦ πράγματος γίνηται κίνησις καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρόνου, τότε τῇ μνήμῃ ἐνεργεῖ.—(452^b, 17-24).

In this passage Aristotle, to illustrate a minute and refined argument, employed letters of the alphabet, no doubt intended to describe a geometrical diagram. Of this (as of all the other diagrams similarly introduced by him) no trace appears in any MS. Hence, as was to have been expected, the letters have become corrupt. Some have been lost, or misplaced. The MSS. differ widely in recording them. The ancient commentators were as much puzzled as we are to find their application. To construct Aristotle's intended diagram, therefore, we must only divine his meaning from the remainder of the context. We must reason from our pre-conception of the general sense to the geometrical illustration by which he tried to make it plain. The hazards of such a method are obvious. Everything depends upon the soundness of the aforesaid pre-conception. If this be false, all its corollaries necessarily fail. If it be coherent and clear, there is still nothing but a more or less strong presumption in its favour. Yet this

method, however precarious, being, from the nature of the present case, indispensable, needs no apology. There is some satisfaction in the introduction of even tolerable sense—though one cannot be sure that it was Aristotle's—into a series of sentences which have heretofore baffled all attempts at interpretation. Freudenthal, of Breslau, alone, of all the commentators whom I know, has made a rational and thorough-going effort to set our passage right. I think he has erred in following the diagram of Themistius too confidently. But I agree with Biehl, who writes: "huic difficillimo loco lucem aliquam et medelam primus attulit Freudenthal." With full knowledge of all the attempts of his predecessors, he has contributed his own effort for the exegesis of the passage. He exhibits no over-confidence of success. Like him, I venture to present what "after long examination" appears to me the best construction of Aristotle's meaning and of the diagram which he gave to explain it; and like him, I fully admit the uncertainty of my results.

In our passage the cardinal thought is that of mnemonic representation; of mental *φαντάσματα*, or *τύποι*, which by 'likeness' or 'analogy' depict, or somehow 'stand for,' past events. Aristotle illustrates the second-sight of memory by reference to the operation of vision proper. In this the object seen reflects itself, or its likeness, in the visual organ; the reflected likeness is somehow conveyed 'inwards' to the central sensory organ, where it awakens 'in the soul' knowledge of the external object—its original stimulus. This reflexion of visible objects in the eye gave all the ancient psychologists (who, of course, were ignorant of the 'retinal image') the bias which prevailed among them (and still prevails) towards the theory of perception by representative similarity. Not in Vision only, but also in Touch, Taste, Smell, and Hearing, objective perception was explained by the likeness, or at least assimila-

tion, of subjective affection to objective stimulus. ‘Like perceives like.’ In all cases an affection of the sensory organ, resembling, or analogous to, the object which stimulates it, is transmitted to the central sensory organ of the soul, where it quickens, or creates, intelligence of the outer object. Alexander, in his treatise *De Anima* (Ivo Bruns ed., p. 72, 11), cautions us that, in using the word *τύπος* of such representative *ἐγκαταλείμματα* of objects, we must beware of taking it always in its literal meaning. Representative similarity seems operative in Vision, but in other senses, *e.g.* Smell, how does it appear? He adds: *διὰ ἀπουρίαν κυρίου τινὸς ὀνόματος τὸ ἵχνος καὶ ἐγκατάλειμμα τὸ ὑπομένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τύπον καλοῦμεν μεταφέροντες τοῦνομα*. Themistius also (p. 238, Spengel), in words which closely follow those of Alexander, gives us the same caution. Aristotle was far from being conscious of the epistemological difficulty which had begun to dawn upon the minds of his commentators. The difficulty was slurred by him under the terms *τύπος*, *φάντασμα*, *εἰκὼν*, *εἶδος*, but chiefly under the term *κίνησις* (affection), this being so indefinite. We must, however, to understand our author, place ourselves at his own *naïf* point of view. Like Ribot, he holds that memory is ‘vision in time.’ For him, *ἡ ὄψις μάλιστα αἰσθησίς ἐστιν* (*De An.* III. iii. 429^a, 2). It is *the* sense *par excellence*. It dominates not only our objective cognition of the ‘outer’ world, but our ‘inner’ experiences—our memories, our imaginations, our dreams. Dreams are literally *visions*, and so, for the most part, are memories. Hence it is that Aristotle (like many other psychologists, ancient and modern), professing to discuss the subject of memory and reminiscence quite generally, seems, from the terms and phrases which he employs, to have lapsed into taking visual memory alone for his theme. Thus his theory of representative memory, according to which objects and events and their relations have internal

εἶδη and κινήσεις resembling and 'standing for' them, is much facilitated. Remembering becomes a particular case of imagining, or imaging. 'Imagery,' however, is a word which has but a very imperfect and precarious meaning outside the province of sight.

Aristotle, who has, in *De Mem.* i., shown how essentially Time is involved in every operation of Memory, goes on to explain here how important it is for Reminiscence. Having asserted that we distinguish longer and shorter times by the organ whereby¹ we cognize τὰ μεγέθη—magnitudes in space—lines, figures, and figured objects, he briefly indicates how this is done, and states his theory of perception, as basis of his theory of memory, by representative analogy, or similarity.

That which in the 'outer world' consists of spatial objects in spatial relations (τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πόρρω) is, as perceived, represented internally (or, as we should say, 'subjectively') by κινήσεις—psychical 'affections'—which are (a) similar, or 'analogous,' to the objects; (b) related to one another as the objects are related. There are within the soul ὅμοια σχήματα καὶ κινήσεις, standing for the magnitudes in space. Between the 'outer' objective sphere and the 'inner,' which represents it, the parallelism is complete. Therefore, says Aristotle, what difference can it make whether the mind 'moves' in the inner, or 'knows' in the outer, sphere? In virtue of the identical proportions existing between the two, the *moving* in the one sphere is the *knowing* in the other. That which on its inner side, or subjectively, is κίνησις, on the outer, or objectively, is αἴσθησις. τίτι οὖν διοίσει (he asks) ὅταν τὰ μέζω νοῶ ἢ ὅταν

¹ Perhaps φῆπερ should take the place of ὡςπερ, 452^b, 9. The just preceding ἔστω [δέ τι] points to it: cf. 450^a, 9, μέγεθος δ' ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν καὶ κίνησιν φη καὶ χρόνον. The organ is

the same, he argues here, because the mode of perception is the same (νοεῖ γὰρ κ. τ. ζ.). This mode is referred to thus in ὡςπερ, ^b10.

ἐκεῖνα νοῶ τὰ ἐλάττω (I keep *τίμι* with Bekker, adopting the remainder from Biehl): the harmony between the *μείζω*, or outer, and the *ἐλάττω*, or inner, objects is perfect. The latter are exactly analogous to the former, and the proportions which the *μείζω* bear to one another exist also among the *ἐλάττω*.¹ Moreover, as there is 'in the soul' something analogous to the perceptible forms (*εἶδεσι*) without us, so there is something else (*ἄλλο*) analogous to their intervals² or distances from us.

All that has here been said of the representative perception of the objective *outer* world may be repeated of the so-called *inner* world, the world of memory, in which events and objects no longer perceived have, just like spatial objects, their *εἶδη* and *ἀποστήματα* depicted in imagination. There are within us *κινήσεις* representing events and their times. If (to speak in the popular fashion) the 'same' event has occurred more than once in our past experience, distinct memory will require that its 'inner' *εἶδος* should be associated with different time-*κινήσεις* (*κινήσεις* representing time), analogous, respectively, to the real times of the different occurrences into the memory of which it enters as a coefficient. Thus the same *τύπος*, or *εἶδος*, of an event may, through being associated with different time-*κινήσεις*, recall to mind different portions of past experience, the occurrences of the 'same' event through its

¹ Biehl's text, *παντὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐντὸς ἐλάττω, ὥσπερ ἀνάλογον καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς* (¹⁴⁻¹⁵), appears to me incapable of any except an absurd translation. We might with four mss. LMSU read *καὶ* for *ὥσπερ* after *ἐλάττω*. But it is possible that *ἐλάττω* after *ἐντὸς* is only a gloss, and that *καὶ* and *ὥσπερ* should be transposed; so that we should probably read *πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀνάλογον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς*, i.e. the internal figures are to one another exactly as the external which they represent.

² Freudenthal renders *εἶδεσιν* by 'Begriffe,' and, in his diagram, makes these different from the inneren 'Affectionen,' which stand for the 'äusseren Objecte.' But *εἶδεσι* is used here as in *De Anima*, 424^a, 18, where we read that *ἡ αἰσθησις* is *δεκτικὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν εἰδῶν ἄνευ τῆς ὕλης*. The word, in fact, is more carefully selected than *σχήματα* ('figures'), ¹²; but it means much the same here—the 'forms' of 'outer' objects, which are reproduced (*ἄνευ ὕλης*) by perception in the soul.

different repetitions; whose difference, however, could not be remembered but for the distinct time-κινήσεις conjoined with each τύπος, and determining its proper relations in the context of 'inner' experience.

I translate or paraphrase the passage from ὥσπερ οὖν to ἐνεργεῖ (^b17-24), introducing freely such changes of the letters as seem to be necessary:—

"As, therefore, if the mind¹ moves subjectively in the figure² ABBE, it produces³ the objective event <ΑΓ>ΓΔ,⁴ for AB is to BE as ΑΓ is to ΓΔ—: Why, then, does it produce this <ΑΓ>ΓΔ rather than <ΑΖ>ΖΗ?⁵ Because, no doubt,⁶ as AB is to ΑΓ, so⁷ is Θ⁸ to Ι.⁹ Therefore it is that the mind moves (subjectively

¹ With κινεῖται supply ἡ διδραία from ^b10.

² The representative εἶδος ἔνευ ὅλης of the event ΑΓΓΔ.

³ Sc. in consciousness. Query νοεῖ? The νοεῖ might easily have arisen through the form ποεῖ, to which the geometrical tone of the passage might have caused νοεῖ to be changed. νοεῖν is the verb used below, though ποεῖν occurs again, ^b19, where the same account of it may be suggested.

⁴ The next clause justifies us in supplying ΑΓ as third proportional.

⁵ A similar event with the same internal representative. Supply <ΑΖ>. Freudenthal appears to miss the whole gist of the passage by making the true and serious question here raised a mere Aristotelean mannerism for the assertion that 'it produces <ΑΖ>ΖΗ with the same right as <ΑΓ>ΓΔ.' This slurs, or drops, the question of the importance of the limitative time-κίνησις, and makes the illustration worse than irrelevant. For if the movements ABBE did reproduce ΑΖΖΗ with the same right as ΑΓΓΔ, and this were all, how could one ever remember two similar events distinctly from one another?

⁶ For ἡ read ἡ <δτι>. This in the Problems almost invariably answers τί.

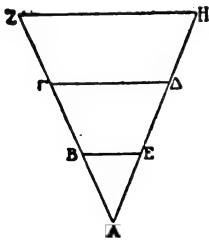
⁷ I.e. as the whole former movement is to the whole external event in relation to its own proper time: read with MSS. ΑΓ against Freudenthal's ΑΖ, and transpose ΑΓ and ΑΒ.

⁸ Θ is the subjective time-κίνησις psychically connected with the event-κίνησις ABBE. It could only be represented by a line (for time is as a line), but must not form part of the same geometrical figure which here symbolises the relationship between 'inner' κινήσεις and past objects or events. It is psychically co-ordinated with the internal κινήσεις, and 'the mind moves' simultaneously in it and in the figure ABBE; but its position cannot be illustrated by a geometrical co-ordination, or its distinguishing function would be lost. ΑΓΓΔ would not result from the movement ABBE with any better right than ΑΖΖΗ would result.

⁹ This, with the three best MSS. EMY, must be read, instead of Biehl's and Bekker's absurd M. The last might have arisen from THNI; and, besides, why should Aristotle here jump from the proper order of the letters, from Θ

in the one, objectively in the other) in *these* lines (viz. ABBE and ΑΙΤΔ) simultaneously. But if a person wishes to think (not ΑΙΤΔ, but) <AZ>ZH, his mind moves as before (ὁμοίως) in the representative κινήσεις¹ <AB>BE, with the difference, however, that *instead of also moving in* ΘΙ,² it moves in ΚΑ.³ For these (Κ, Α) are to one another as AB<BE> to AZ<ZH>.⁴ When, therefore, the subjective κινήσεις of the fact and of its time concur, then only one actually and fully remembers." (ὅταν οὖν . . . ἐνεργεῖ should be printed as concluding this paragraph, not, with Biehl, as commencing another.)

The above account of the passage may be partially illustrated by a triangle divided similarly, thus:—



Here ABBE stand for psychical κινήσεις which are exactly similar to the objective event ΑΓΓΔ, or to the event ΑΖΖΗ, but which when representing the former have the time-mark Θ, standing for the real time Ι; and when representing the latter, have the time-mark Κ, standing for the real time Λ.

How these times and time-marks could be drawn so as to form *parts* of the similar figures I do not see; and I think,

to M, before ΚΑ, (which appear in their places below) have been yet employed?

¹ By hypothesis, the movements ABBE stand for either the event ΑΙΤΔ or ΑΖΖΗ.

² I.e. in the subjective κίνησις Θ, which is correlated with the objective time (of the event ΑΙΤΔ) Ι. Freudenthal renders ἀντὶ κ.τ.λ. by "Für ΘΙ (die Zeitobjective) denkt man ΚΑ, (das Bild der Zeit in uns)," which mistranslates ἀντὶ, and loses the sense altogether.

³ I.e. in the subjective κίνησις Κ correlated with the objective time Λ, which is the time of the event ΑΖΖΗ.

⁴ I have again boldly transposed and

supplied letters. Aristotle means to say that the subjective event-κινήσεις ABBE, when conjoined with the time-mark Κ, bring to consciousness the particular event ΑΖΖΗ, with its real time Λ, the time-mark being co-ordinated mentally with the κίνησις of the event, as the real time is co-ordinated with the real event. This theory of time-κίνησις, as I have explained it, may remind one in some respects of Lotze's theory of 'local signs,' mysterious elements of sensation, somehow associated with heterogeneous sensations, and determining them in an external relationship.

as I have said (note 8), that to represent them so would be to abolish the distinguishing function of the time-κίνησις, and leave the question τί οὖν μᾶλλον κ. τ. έ. unanswered and unanswerable.

The text, if reformed to suit the above exposition, would run thus:—

ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ τὴν AB, BE κινεῖται, ποιεῖ [? νοεῖ] τὴν <ΑΓ>, ΓΔ· ἀνάλογον γὰρ ἢ ΑΓ, [καὶ ἢ] ΓΔ—τί οὖν μᾶλλον τὴν <ΑΓ>, ΓΔ ἢ τὴν <ΑΖ>, ΖΗ ποιεῖ [? νοεῖ]; ἢ <ὅτι> ὡς ἢ AB, <BE> πρὸς τὴν ΑΓ, <ΓΔ>, οὕτως ἢ Θ πρὸς τὴν Ι· ταύτας οὖν ἅμα κινεῖται. ἂν δὲ τὴν <ΑΖ>ΖΗ βούληται νοῆσαι, τὴν μὲν <AB>, BE ὁμοίως νοεῖ, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν Θ, Ι τὰς Κ, Λ νοεῖ· αὗται γὰρ ἔχουσιν ὡς AB, <BE> πρὸς ΑΖ, ΖΗ. ὅταν οὖν ἅμα ἢ τε τοῦ πράγματος γίγνηται κίνησις καὶ ἢ τοῦ χρόνου, τότε τῇ μνήμῃ ἐνεργεῖ.

454^a, 21–22. οὔτε γὰρ εἴ τί ἐστι ζῶον ἔχον αἴσθησιν, τοῦτ' ἐνδέχεται οὔτε καθεύδειν οὔτ' ἐγρηγορέναι· ἀμφω γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάθη ταῦτα περὶ αἴσθησιν τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητικοῦ (Bekker).

This is rendered by Vatablus (presented without remark by Julius Pacius): *non enim si quod animal est sensu praeditum, neque dormire id neque vigilare contingit*; by Bender, “denn ein lebendes Wesen, welches Wahrnehmung hat, kann weder ohne Schlafen und Wachen sein”; by Tafel, Osiander, and Schwab, “denn es ist nicht möglich dass, wenn ein Wesen ist, das Empfindung hat, dieses weder schlafe noch wache.” “If an animal is a creature indued with sense-perception, it is impossible it should *neither* sleep *nor* wake.” But this translation involves a complete solecism. It would require μήτε . . . μήτε, not οὔτε . . . οὔτε. Our text, as it stands, bears only one grammatical translation, viz.: “If an animal, . . . it is impossible it should *either* sleep *or* wake”; οὔτε . . . οὔτε, of course, explicates the preliminary οὐ (printed by Biehl for Bekker's οὔτε), which negatives ἐνδέχεται. To take οὔτε . . . οὔτε with the infinitives, as the above versions do, is to confound it

with μήτε . . . μήτε, and throw grammar to the winds. Yet the sense seems to require this translation—"should *neither* sleep *nor* wake." If we had μὴ before ἔχον, both sense and grammar would be satisfied: "If an animal be a creature (or 'if there be any animal') not possessing sense-perception, it is not possible that it should either sleep or wake."¹ This is the contrapositive of the conclusion drawn below, 454^b, 11, ὥστε ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ καθεῦδον ἔχειν τὸ αἰσθητικὸν μόριον. *Without* τὸ αἰσθητικόν, sleeping and waking are *impossible*; with it, they are *necessary*. The change here proposed would also harmonise with γάρ in the next sentence.

455^b, 31-4. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ζώοις καθάπερ τοῖς ἐναίμοις ὑποληπτέον εἶναι τὰ αἰτία τοῦ πάθους, ἢ ταῦτά ἢ τὰ ἀνάλογον, τοῖς δ' ἐναίμοις ἅπερ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (Bekker).

For καθάπερ it would appear that ἅπερ should be substituted. At first sight, or carelessly read, καθάπερ seems defensible, yet sense and grammar are both against it. The sense is—"one must assume that the causes of the affection are the same (or analogous) for the other animals as for τὰ ἐναιμα." But while ταῦτά ἅπερ is frequent, ταῦτά καθάπερ is in Aristotle an unparalleled construction. καθάπερ is an adverb, while the sense requires an adjective pronoun, as in the words following—ἅπερ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. There is a mode of translating which would give καθάπερ a certain sense and syntax, but which is so awkward that it cannot be accepted, viz., "one must assume that the causes of the affection exist in the other animals in the same fashion as they exist in 'sanguineous' animals—the same, or analogous." This makes ἢ ταῦτά ἢ τὰ ἀνάλογον a sort of explanatory note. How much simpler everything would be if here, as just after-

¹ These being affections of τὸ αἰσθητικόν.

wards, we had ἄπερ. Εἶναι denotes simple attribution, and mode of existence is not in question. Hence καθάπερ cannot stand. Ταῦτὰ . . . καὶ would be normal. May καθάπερ here have arisen from fusion of two competing lections—καὶ and ἄπερ?

457^b, 6-10. καίτοι τις ἀπορήσειεν ἄν, ὅτι μετὰ τὰ σιτία ἰσχυρότατος ὕπνος γίνεται, καὶ ἔστιν ὑπνωτικὰ οἶνος καὶ ἄλλα θερμότητος ἔχοντα τοιαύτας. "Ἐστι δ' οὐκ εὐλογον τὸν μὲν ὕπνον εἶναι κατάψυξιν, τὰ δ' αἷτια τοῦ καθεύδειν θερμά. Πότερον οὖν, κ. τ. λ. (Bekker).

Here a comma, instead of a full stop, after τοιαύτας would improve the sense, and render it unnecessary to suppose, with Susemihl (*Philologus*, 1885, p. 581), that δὲ after ἔστι ^b9 should be changed to γάρ. The ἀπορία stated lies in the *combined* sentences, not in the first alone—in the apparent conflict between two equally sound positions—(a) that μετὰ τὰ σιτία ἰσχυρότατος ὁ ὕπνος καὶ ἔστιν κ. τ. λ.: (b) ἔστι δ' οὐκ εὐλογον ὕπνον εἶναι κατάψυξιν, τὰ δ' αἷτια τοῦ καθεύδειν θερμά. The δὲ after ἔστι, ^b9, may be balanced by mentally supplying μὲν somewhere (say after σιτία) in the preceding clause. The whole ἀπορία is contained in the μὲν and the δὲ clauses combined. Its solution begins at πότερον, ^b10. Translate: "One might object . . . that while after food (which gives heat) sleep is heaviest, it is unreasonable that sleep should in itself be a process of cooling, and its causes heat-givers." At all events, it is certain that in the Greek the statement of the ἀπορία does not end with τοιαύτας, but goes on with the ἔστι δ', although there may seem to be (and is) at this point a certain redundancy of expression which disturbs one's satisfaction with the passage. It is equally certain that the solution of this ἀπορία begins with πότερον, ^b10. Susemihl, by changing δὲ to γάρ, would make Aristotle interpose prematurely to explain the ἀπορία before it has been fully stated by the imaginary objector.

458^b, 20. οἷον οἱ δοκοῦντες κατὰ τὸ μνημονικὸν παράγγελμα τίθεσθαι τὰ προβαλλόμενα. Cf. 452^a, 12, διὸ ἀπὸ τόπων δοκοῦσιν ἀναμνησκέσθαι ἐνίοτε (Bekker).

These passages, owing to their common peculiarity, the use of *δοκεῖν*, are to be considered together. In the former we may render οἱ δοκοῦντες, "those who in their dreams *believe themselves to be* arranging," &c.; for *δοκεῖν* is the appropriate word for expressing subjective conviction, especially the dreamer's conviction. Here, then, no doubt is conveyed of the reality of the mnemonic rules. But in the latter passage the case is different. Do not people actually remember ἀπὸ τόπων? If so, why δοκοῦσιν? why ἐνίοτε? That Aristotle had no scepticism as to the reality of the mnemonic art is clear from other passages. I cannot but think that, by way of answering these questions, one could not do better than recall Sir W. Hamilton's conjecture, ἀπ' ἀτόπων (Reid's Works, p. 902 n.) for ἀπὸ τόπων. The slightness of the change is apparent. The ease with which it might, under the hands of scribes all familiar with the notion of the 'topical memory,' have been changed to ἀπὸ τόπων, is no less apparent. It completely explains δοκοῦσιν and ἐνίοτε, for with it we translate: "Hence it is that at times the data which stimulate to recollection seem (*ἄτοπα i.e.*) absurd." In fact, τὰ ἄτοπα are strictly the opposite to τὰ ἀπὸ τόπων: things totally unarranged to things each in its own place. Remembrance from such data might well be surprising. The instances given in illustration by Aristotle are in perfect keeping with this point of view—"ταχὺ ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἔρχονται, οἷον ἀπὸ γάλακτος ἐπὶ λευκὸν, ἀπὸ λευκοῦ ἐπ' αἴρα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐφ' ὑγρόν, ἐφ' οὗ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ μετοπώρου." "One passes in thought from *milk* to *white*; from *white* to *mist* (examination of the usage of ἀήρ will show this to be its fundamental sense); from *mist* to *moist*, whence again one passes to the idea of *autumn*" ("season of mists and

mellow fruitfulness"). These ideas at first seem without connexion, thrown together at random, too *ἄτοπα* to be the foundation of *ἀνάμνησις*. Yet (as in the train of ideas which led from the thought of a Roman penny to that of the execution of Charles I.) the connexion is in them after all; they only *seem* to be *ἄτοπα*; recollection based upon them really proceeds according to the 'Association of Ideas,' which is the point of the whole paragraph. Themistius had the same reading as we have; but the corruption of *ἀπ' ἀτόπων* to (what must have seemed the much smarter and more probable) *ἀπὸ τόπων* is probably centuries older than any of the commentators. In the face of the advantages possessed by Sir W. Hamilton's conjecture, we can scarcely do better than accept it without reserve. Themistius makes no effort to explain *ἐνίοτε* or *δοκοῦσιν*, merely writing a common-place note on *τόποι*.

459^a, 11-14. ὑποκείσθω δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ φανερόν, ὅτι τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τὸ πάθος, εἴπερ καὶ ὁ ὕπνος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλω μὲν τινι τῶν ζώων ὑπάρχει ὁ ὕπνος, ἄλλω δὲ τὸ ἐνυπνιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῷ (Bekker).

I believe that τῶν ζώων ^a13 must be ejected. It spoils the sense, which is that sleeping and dreaming belong to the same faculty, viz.: τὸ αἰσθητικόν, not to different faculties, of the soul: the words in question give the text a *prima facie* appearance of meaning that "sleeping does not belong to one animal (or class of animals), dreaming to another." Themistius, by an interpreter's device, to save the passage from this absurdity, supplies *μορίῳ* after *τινι*. The words seem to me to have originated in some most unlucky gloss which strayed into the text. Since forming this opinion I have discovered that W. A. Becker also, for somewhat the same reasons as mine, treated τῶν ζώων here as a gloss, and brought τοῦ ζώου, 453^b, 25, under the same category, perhaps rightly. The passage which influenced the commentator, or copyist, who introduced

τῶν ζώων, may have been 454^b, 19-24, where different animals are compared with one another. Here the consideration of the faculty is paramount in the writer's thoughts. Besides, γὰρ is absurd if we keep τῶν ζώων.

461^a, 21-30. τούτων δ' ἕκαστόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αἰσθήματος· καὶ ἀπελθόντος τοῦ αἰσθήματος τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἔνεστι, καὶ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦτον οἶον Κόρισκος, ἀλλ' οὐ Κόρισκος. ὅτε δ' ἠσθάνετο, οὐκ ἔλεγε Κόρισκον τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ἐπικρίνον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνον Κόρισκον τὸν ἀληθινόν. οὗ δὲ καὶ αἰσθανόμενον λέγει τοῦτο, ἐὰν μὴ παντελῶς κατέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, ὥσπερ μὴ αἰσθανόμενον τοῦτο, κινεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν κινήσεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις· καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀληθές (Bekker).

In this passage the sentence οὗ δὲ . . . αἰσθητηρίοις has been the despair of interpreters, and has fallen almost entirely into the hands of conjectural emendators. Biehl, indeed, says, "deleta virgula ante κινεῖται et posita ante τοῦτο, ²⁸omnia sana mihi videntur," brave words, if he would only construe and translate. Meantime, we have such a man as Hayduck (*Observationes Criticae*: Greifswald, 1873) writing thus: "Vv. οὗ δὲ—αἰσθητηρίοις tam perplexa et male conformata sunt ut, quid philosophus dicere velit, coniectura tantum assequi possis." W. A. Becker, too, is hopeless. He says: "Locus hic quo difficiliorem vix novi . . . Difficile est in tanta corruptela emendandi initium facere. Sine codd. ope nullam ad salutem viam patere video," &c. Hayduck (approved by Susemihl) proposes ὥς for οὗ, and ἐὰν δὲ for ἐὰν μὴ. Poppelreiter would read δ for οὗ. To me it seems that if, with four of the six codices, including EMY, μὴ after ὥσπερ be omitted, the passage can be construed and interpreted most satisfactorily.

Aristotle has stated that dream-images are remnants (ὑπολείμματα) of sense-impressions (αἰσθήματα) which reside in the particular sense-organs, and stimulate the 'central,' or 'common' sense-organ into a secondary activity whenever

they find it disengaged (as *e.g.* in sleep) from the engrossing work of outward observation. By an illusion, especially incidental to the sleeping mind, this secondary stimulation passes for primary. Though when awake, and engaged in direct observation, one does not confound the impression with its object; though one says of the former, it is 'like Koriskos but not actually Koriskos'; when one is asleep, the case is altered. The judgment ($\tauὸ \kappaύριον \kappaαὶ ἐπικρίνον$ ¹) is then usually 'coerced' $\��πὸ τοῦ αἵματος$ (^{b6, 27}), as, indeed, it might also be in waking moments, when we have (not dreams but) hallucinations. Thus coerced it does not distinguish between impression and object, or between the αἶσθημα and the ὑπόλειμμα—the primary and the residuary impression. Hence, considering the instinctive tendency of the mind at all times to pass from the 'impression' to the 'object,' which, by resembling, it represents, one can see how easily the dreamer, whose judgment is not operative, though he has merely a secondary or residuary impression of Koriskos before his mind's eye, is misled into thinking that he is looking at "the veritable Koriskos there yonder ($ἐκεῖνον \text{Κόρισκον τὸν ἀληθινόν}$)."

Such being the general sense of οὗ δὴ κ. τ. ἐ., and of the sentences preceding it, let us look to the construction. We shall with codd. EMYSU, omit μή, after ὥσπερ, as the mistaken interpolation of some interpreter. Arranging the words in the order which will convey the sense most easily to the English reader, let us place them thus:—ὥσπερ αἰσθανόμενον τοῦτο, οὗ δὴ καὶ αἰσθανόμενον λέγει τοῦτο ἐὰν μὴ παντελῶς κατέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, κινεῖται ὑπο τῶν κινήσεων τῶν κ. τ. ἐ.—"[In sleep] AS IF perceiving this,² which, as we have said ($\delta\eta$), when ACTUALLY perceiving ($\kappaαὶ αἰσθ.$), it (sc. $\tauὸ \kappaύριον \kappaαὶ ἐπι-$

¹ $\tauὸ$ before $ἐπικρίνον$ should be rejected with EM. It injures either sense or grammar. There is only one faculty referred to, and this one is *both* $\kappaύριον$

and $ἐπικρίνον$.

² Sc. $\tauὸ ἐν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αἶσθημα$ —the chief subject from ^{b22} onwards.

κρίνον), pronounces this (sc. that 'though like Koriskos it is not Koriskos') respecting it, if not completely controlled by the blood—it¹ is stimulated (κινεῖται) by movements residuary within the particular sense-organs, &c." Such *quasi*, or *secondary*, stimulation makes the indiscriminating sleeper feel as if he had an αἶσθημα, instead of only a ὑπόλειμμα, before him (ὥσπερ αἰσθανόμενον τοῦτο); hence that which is only like the real object is mistaken for the real object itself. In sense οὗ, as δὴ shows, refers to τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αἶσθημα, and has τοῦτο, ^b28, as its grammatical antecedent. It is noticeable here that αἰσθανόμενον governs first a genitive (οὔ), next an acc. (τοῦτο). But, as Bonitz observes *sub voc.*, the verb αἰσθάνεσθαι, when it denotes *objective* perception as distinct from the *feeling* of pleasure or pain, governs either case indifferently, showing a preference, however, for the accusative in neuter pronouns. There is nevertheless, a reason for the variation here, for if we had δ (instead of οὔ), this might be easily misunderstood as agreeing with αἰσθανόμενον and subject to λέγει, which would spoil the sense. The construction of the genitive after the participle, leaving us to understand αὐτὸ, (or περὶ αὐτοῦ,) with λέγεις τοῦτο, is clear and idiomatic in the Greek, though very remote from the English order of expression. Οὗ δὴ, placed as it is, contains the requisite conjunction with what precedes, while ὥσπερ αἰσθανόμενον τοῦτο has more force from its position here before κινεῖται than it would have if it stood before the relative at the head of the sentence.

JOHN I. BEARE.

¹ Sc. τὸ κύριον = τὸ κοινὸν αἰσθητήριον, which has the function of distinguishing and comparing the data of special sense.

THE "ALCESTIS" AT MELBOURNE.

IN the Victorian section of the Greater Britain Exhibition at Earl's Court, there is to be seen a series of admirable photographs which cannot fail to be of special interest to students of Greek drama and especially to such as hail from Trinity College, Dublin. Photography is an art in which, thanks to a λαμπρότατος αἰθῆρ and possibly to a comparative scarcity of the finer *mimesis*, Australasia is more than creditably proficient. The views in question represent the principal scenes in the *Alcestis* of Euripides as performed last year by the students of Trinity College in the University of Melbourne. The fame of that remarkable performance has been in some measure spread by certain of the English illustrated journals. There are, however, sundry facts and circumstances which might claim more than passing remark in any review devoted to classical studies; while peculiar recognition and record may be asked on the part of HERMATHENA, inasmuch as this truly magnificent representation of a Greek tragedy was the outcome of the scholarship, enthusiasm, practical ability, and liberality of an *alumnus* of Dublin. To Dr. Alexander Leeper, the Warden of our antipodean Trinity, alone is due an enterprise crowned with the most complete triumph.

Greek tragedies have been presented before University audiences at Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, and elsewhere. They have been performed by and to *virtuosi* at Bradfield. In such a setting their success has caused a gratified surprise even to those whose expectations were highest. The *Agamemnon*, *Ajax*, *Oedipus Tyrannus* have been found to gain, and not to lose, in power and effect by being put upon the stage. But in all these cases there may be presumed to have existed a predisposition in favour of the piece. The spectators have been mainly scholars, at least to the extent of a certain familiarity with the Greek language, with Greek life and thought, and with the principles of Greek art. Most of them have possessed a tolerable familiarity with the particular play presented, and have been ready to seize upon and appreciate the beauties and

subtleties of the action. There has therefore necessarily been a large measure of what Wendell Holmes calls "polarisation." Moreover, when a great University like Oxford or Cambridge undertakes the production of a Greek tragedy, it has an ample supply of dramatic ability from which to select the actors, and no less a supply of competent guides, philosophers, and critics to see that they shall be trained to the best effect.

When Dr. Leeper conceived the idea of producing the *Alcestis* in Greek, not before an academical audience, but before what the newspapers call a "large and fashionable" general gathering in the Town Hall of this city, I confess to having been prompt with a most zealous discouragement. *A priori* it did not appear probable that more than a qualified *succès d'estime* was to be expected from an assemblage comprising perhaps a few persons tolerably acquainted with Greek and a larger number who had once dabbled in it, but certainly many hundreds who had no Greek at all. There was little or no predisposition to draw upon; and a Melbourne audience, intelligent as it unmistakeably is, habitually poses as rather sceptical of the value of classical antiquity. It would come to see a performance "all very well for its date," just as it might go to see the earliest locomotive. It is not easy, therefore, to forget the rare and unfeigned interest with which the sixteen or seventeen hundred spectators watched the *Alcestis*, an interest which grew more rapt and became almost breathless as the piece proceeded, until, when it came to a close, there occurred a phenomenon which one may believe to be the highest tribute to successful art—a period of profound silence, followed by such a tumultuous outbreak of applause as I have not witnessed on the part of the same audience at any presentation of a modern play. Such a fact should assuredly be of vital significance, inasmuch as it incontestably proves that the excellence of Greek drama as a form of art is no illusion of the scholar.

It must of course be admitted at once that the play was not staged and performed with each and every nicety of absolute archæological correctness. Such a proceeding would have been absurdly pedantic for any other purpose than as a lesson in archæology. The question where to draw the line is one for scholarly taste combined with practical tact. The spirit of the Athenian stage need never be sacrificed, even when the strict letter cannot be retained. Masks and *cothurni* of course must go. The music must take a more modern character. The choric movements

cannot be recovered. To act accordingly is not "Philistinising" the play; it is only doing what the Athenian dramatist would himself have done in the circumstances. There is, however, no need to depart from the strictest attainable accuracy in the matter of the buildings, dresses, and equipments, of the entrances, and exits, and so forth. To these things the Melbourne performance was entirely faithful. Perhaps it is not to be denied that the very truth of these details lent an interest which the modern audience was keen to appreciate. Nor is the fact to be disguised that the *ὄψις*, which Aristotle declares to be the *ἀτεχνότατον μέρος* of tragedy, contributed somewhat more than the Stagirite would choose to a popular enjoyment of the play. And here it deserves to be said with all confidence that neither Oxford nor Cambridge has yet presented a Greek play with such magnificence of staging as that with which Dr. Leeper caused the *Alcestis* to be presented in Melbourne. On this point those who had seen the *Agamemnon* or the *Ajax* at the English Universities were entirely certain and unanimous. The superbly designed and coloured façade of the palace of Admetus, with its marble steps, columns, gable, and bronze doors; the artistic blending of the dresses when the groups formed themselves on the steps or in the orchestra; the dexterous arrangements of the said groups—these scenic effects were both exceedingly impressive at the time and continue to haunt the memory. One may agree with a recent writer in the *Quarterly Review* that Euripides himself was a stranger to such sumptuousness of staging. One need not pretend, however, that he would not have welcomed it.

Another element of tragedy, to which Aristotle assigns only the fifth place is the music. To *μελοποιία* also, it must be acknowledged, the Melbourne play was in a measure indebted for a popular success. Seventy-six trained singers in the wings sang the choric lyrics, the music having been composed for the occasion with striking success by Mr. Marshall-Hall, the Professor of Music in the Melbourne University. Furthermore an excellent orchestra of fifty, performing compositions of no mere provincial quality, could not fail to lend a degree of life even if the play itself had been in danger of dragging.

Yet when we have made every deduction for superb staging and fine music, there remain the play and its effectiveness as such. The *Alcestis* might perhaps seem not the most promising work with which to make the experiment. Dr. Leeper had prepared and issued a scholarly rendering of the play for

popular use, and the conduct of Admetus had already been much canvassed with the usual result. Yet despite a very wide prejudice against the plot of the play caused by the indefensible moral attitude of Admetus, it soon became manifest that the spectators were gradually giving their soul up to the piece as it developed itself before their eyes upon the stage. They no doubt missed the power and charm of the Greek diction and in a large degree the subtleties of *διάνοια*, but the essentials of the piece, the *πρᾶξις* and the *ἦθος*, were beyond all missing, and Shakspeare himself could not have held their attention more firmly.

The result of the performance upon the popular mind was one which must bring intense satisfaction to the student of Greek literature and art. Greek studies have gained in the community more perhaps than can be estimated. I am not aware that so bold an experiment in this kind has been attempted elsewhere, and for that reason I venture to send these notes upon it.

What classical enthusiasm Dublin can impart, and what the energy and talent of a son of Dublin can do, may be discovered from the fact that Dr. Leeper not only conceived the design of producing the play, and encouraged it until it assumed such nobly ambitious proportions, but was also himself stage-manager and trainer of the actors. He wrote the English version of the piece. He sustained a very large expense of money and energies. But it was no slight reward for him to feel that he was able to supply all the actors from the single college of Trinity which he had built up in this University, and the actresses from the Trinity College Women's Hostel, which he has built up beside it; and except for the music, to present in entire independence of any other portion of the University a performance which, in some respects, was unique in its success.

T. G. TUCKER.

MELBOURNE.

REVIEWS.

Cambridge Compositions, Greek and Latin. Edited by R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M.A., and R. D. HICKS, M.A. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1899.)

NEARLY all the translations in this volume are of high merit, and many are brilliant. The work of one of the editors, Mr. Archer-Hind, is the most striking feature of the book, if we take quantity and variety as well as quality into account. The translations into Latin Verse are, perhaps, the least interesting part; but we observe two renderings by Professor Jebb (pp. 7 and 119) which seem to us ideal models of perfectly simple, adequate, and accurate translation. In a short notice it is out of the question to attempt to enumerate the most excellent pieces, when there are so many most excellent. In Archer-Hind's rendering in Greek Elegiacs of "Pluck no more red roses, maidens," seems to deserve special mention as a perfect achievement in a metre which, though often attempted, is very rarely handled with more than moderate success. Professor Butcher (who has contributed some admirable Demosthenic pieces) has a happy rendering of a well-known passage in *Richard II.* He turns that baffling verse—

"The setting sun, and music at the close,"

by
νικᾶ φθίνοντος ἡλίου, νικᾶ χάρις
μολπῆς φθινούσης,

and probably it could not be done more effectually than by the device of repetition. Dr. Verrall makes a clever hit when he translates—

L. Nay, never lay thy hand upon thy sword;
I fear thee not. C. Marry, beshrew my hand—

by
Α. ἔα, τί χεῖρ πρὸς ἔγχος; οὐκ ὀκνῶ χέρα,
Κ. φεῦ τῆς κακίστης, ὦ θεοί, χειρουργίας.

On the other hand, we do not consider Mr. Archer-Hind's

πρόσθε πᾶσαν ἐλπίδ' οἱ 'φικνούμενοι

a happy equivalent for "All hope abandon ye who enter here."

Nothing is more important for a translator to recognise than that some things are repugnant to translation into Greek or Latin, and such things should not be attempted. The volume before us seldom sins in this respect, but on pp. 312-3 we notice a good instance of what we mean—

“The rose upon your breast
Is not more full of perfume than the world
Of pain.”

These are lines of Lord Bowen. The frigidity of the conceit is painfully apparent in the literal but intolerable Greek—

καὶ γὰρ οὐ πλέον γ' εὐοσμία
πρέπει τόδ' ἄνθος σῶν ἐπὶ στέρνων ῥόδου
ἢ πᾶσα λύπη γῇ δυσιάτου γέμει.

We have observed a couple of hexameters which no Greek poet would have written, and on p. 369, in a passage which might well have been omitted altogether, there is a really ululating blunder.

Mr. W. G. Headlam performs, with notable success, the feat of doing Shelley's "Skylark" into Greek Sapphics; but we feel sure that Sappho did not write *βρόδον* but *φρόδον*.

The Attic Theatre. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A., late Fellow of Hertford and Classical Lecturer at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Second Edition. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1898.)

THE second edition of Mr. Haigh's standard work on the Attic Theatre approaches as near perfection as is permitted either by the information afforded by ancient authors, which on many points is very obscure and incomplete, or by the constant additions which are being made to our knowledge of the subject by modern research and excavations. In this new edition we find many theories elaborated *γλαφυρῶς*, which had been put forward in the earlier work *παχυλῶς* καὶ τύπῳ, and not a few *ἐπανορθώματα* of former inaccuracies.

The accumulation of fresh evidence has led Mr. Haigh to re-cast a considerable portion of his book, most noticeably the third and fourth chapters, which are entirely re-written. These chapters deal with the theatre and scenery. The author ably defends his theory of the existence of a stage in the Greek theatre from the first against the revolutionary doctrines propounded by Dörpfeld and his followers who deny the existence of a stage in purely Greek theatres either in earlier or later times, and who hold that the *proscenium* was intended, not as a stage for the actors but as a background, the actors and the chorus performing together in the orchestra. In vol. iv.

of the *Classical Review*, Dr. Verrall, who reviews the question mainly in relation to Aeschylus, advances strong arguments to show that though there was certainly a kind of stage in existence in the time of Aeschylus, yet it was regarded merely as a part of the orchestra elevated for convenience, whereas the strange "Vitruvian" theatre is a translation of Euripides into stone. This theory, though much more dogmatically stated, agrees with Mr. Haigh's in the cardinal fact of the existence of some form of stage from first to last, however slightly raised above the orchestra during the Aeschylean period. On the whole question Mr. Haigh's view appears more probable than any other.

The statement, which is based on the express testimony of Plutarch, that the Theoric system was introduced by Pericles, is now rejected by Mr. Haigh, who follows the recently discovered 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, in which it is ascribed to the demagogue Cleophon (between 422 and 404 B.C.). This treatise, however, contains so many anomalous statements that one hesitates to accept anything on its unsupported authority. The old view, held among others by Bekker, that there was a difference in price between the seats in the theatre—the better seats costing a drachma, the inferior two obols—rests mainly on a misinterpretation of Plato, *Apology*, 26 D δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένοις.

Of this passage Mr. Haigh says in a note on page 369 that it has "most likely no reference to the theatre." We may go further and say positively that it can have no such reference; for whether we regard the drachma as the price of the best seats or as the total fees for three successive days, in either case it contradicts the tenor of Socrates' argument which would require him only to mention the lowest entrance price, and that for a single day.

The author constantly warns his readers not to be misled by modern associations in judging of matters relating to the Greek theatre, but seems himself to be led astray, when on p. 239 he says it is ludicrous to conceive the chorus in the Prometheus, the Ocean nymphs, remaining poised in their winged car, by the aid of some mechanical contrivance, in front of Prometheus during the delivery of a hundred and fifty lines. In the light of lines 280-290 any other view seems, to say the least, not less ludicrous.

In his sections dealing with the position of actors at Athens and the Actors' Guild, Mr. Haigh should, perhaps, have accentuated the fact that it was mainly owing to the lively interest which the Hellenizing kings of Macedon took in the Grecian drama that actors enjoyed such important privileges, both in peace and war, in the fourth century. An important passage which might have been cited to prove that boys were allowed to be present in the theatre is Isaeus de Ciron. Her. p. 71.

The constituent parts of a παράβασις are nowhere collectively stated. A striking omission is that of the usage of ἐνδιδόναι, "to

give the keynote to the chorus," and τὸ ἐνδόσιμον, "the keynote"—phrases so familiar that they were employed in all the modern metaphorical senses. On page 265 παρασκήνια are not "songs or words delivered from behind the scenes," but from the side scenes. On page 302 occurs a confusion between ἔξοδος and ἐξόδιον.

Technical expressions like εἰσιέναι "to come on the stage," ἐπιτρίβειν, "to murder a part," ἐπισημαίνειν and ἐπισημασία, should be mentioned. Reference might also be made to the practice, alluded to in Aristophanes, Vesp. 58, Plut. 797, of poets scattering nuts and figs among the audience to secure their applause.

The quotation of the well-known story with regard to the actor Hegelochus' delivery of γαλήν' ὀρώ (Eur. Or. 281; Aristoph. Ranae, 304) would give a modern reader a livelier sense of the extraordinary elocutionary demands made on a Greek actor, and of the acuteness of the audience in detecting defective enunciation, than any number of pages of purely descriptive writing.

But these are merely minor points, and wherever one opens the book he is strongly impressed by the fulness and accuracy of the information imparted.

Mr. Haigh's work will long hold the pre-eminence amongst its kind, both as embracing all the indisputable facts known with regard to the Attic Theatre, and the most important theories that have been propounded, though some of his views may not commend themselves to all, and though fresh explorations cannot fail to throw new light on many points. For in this branch, as in so many others, the experience of the archæologist is as that of Solon—

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

Caesar, De Bello Gallico, Books I.-VII., according to the text of Emanuel Hoffmann. (Vienna, 1890.) Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by St. George Stock. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1898.)

THIS work divides itself into two portions with separate title-pages, an Introduction and a Commentary. The former of these is deserving of high praise; the latter is, we think, inadequate. Rapidity is the note of the Introduction. In it the reader is carried along with a Caesarian swiftness over discussions on the value and history of the Commentaries on Caesar's character, on the Roman wars with the Gauls; is swept through rich accounts of Gaul, Britain, and Germany; and is borne without

effort over even such heavy ground as the Roman army, a subject which every editor of Caesar must undertake, but of which it is difficult to treat without drifting into masses of detail and thereby ponderous dullness. But dull Mr. Stock is never; he is never pedantic, and at any rate in the Introduction he shows abundant learning. There is hardly an essential point in the historical aspect of the work which we miss; and it is with the historical aspect alone that Mr. Stock professes to deal. He has the Plutarchian gift of lighting up his narrative with amusing and characteristic stories (*e.g.* that of Domitius and the Allobrogian ambassadors, p. 72), and with telling and pointed remarks, such as that Caesar's courage was "a courage of the reason rather than of the blood" (p. 25). Nor is a poetical vein wanting. The editor rightly will not pronounce on the origin of the Gauls. "Sons of the night they claimed to be (vi. 18. 1) and sons of the night we will leave them without an attempt to dissipate the darkness that enshrouds their origin" (p. 90). Similarly he will not pronounce on the locality of the Cassiterides; "like the island of Delos before it was chained the Cassiterides floated at will; the name was a moving name like that of Thule. To attempt to localise it is as vain a task as to hunt for Panchaia or for the kingdom of Prester John" (p. 117). There are good discussions on the minerals which attracted strangers to Gaul (pp. 87, 103), and on the tin trade of Britain (p. 141); a welcome defence of Pytheas (p. 119); a lively record of Mela's statements about Ireland (p. 148); some critical remarks on Caesar's *à priori* natural history (p. 156); sound judgments on the diversity of grades of development among the tribes of Germany (p. 165); and a really admirable account of the centurions in the Roman army, those excellent specimens of the solidity¹ of the great middle class. If it is necessary that a reviewer should find some fault, we confess to disagreeing with Mr. Stock's view that the Commentaries were written piecemeal. Rather they were written rapidly (cp. Hirtius viii. pref. § 6) in the winter of 52-51, and published in the spring of 51 (cp. Teuffel-Schwabe, § 196. 6). We should have wished for a little fuller account of the greatness of the Arverni (cp. Mommsen R. H., Book iv., ch. 5). While agreeing with Mr. Stock in often desiring more details from Tacitus, and occasionally less of the "dim magnificence" of his style, we cannot feel that his ethnological speculations on the Caledonians and Silures are to be summarily discarded. As "Tacitus throws a greater air of science into his speculations on these points" (p. 145), he should be refuted. Surely it is probable, and partly on the grounds which Tacitus adduces, that the Silures belonged to the widespread Iberian family.

As to the Commentary, space confines us to a few words. It is

¹ For centurions one should choose ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς μάλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς as Polybius says.

This, as Mr. Stock observes, answers to the Roman *ad ducendum aptos, constantes, graves*.

hard to see for what class of readers it is intended. Opening the book at random at iv. 23 we find no note to § 5, though it would be troublesome to anyone except a fairly good scholar; but what would such a scholar want (24. 1) with a note of examples of *prohibere* with the infinitive which he could get in any Caesarian lexicon? One interested in textual criticism does not find anything said about *primis* at the end of iv. 25; and for the historical student the difficulty (29. 2) of *longas naves quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat* is not touched upon.¹ We should have liked a note on *adversa nocte* in iv. 28. 3; and some doubt may attach to the distinction in 26. 2 of *singulares* (small bodies), and *singulos* (individuals): cp. vii. 8. 3, *ne singularis quidem hominis*. The summaries to the several books and supplementary notes are as vigorous and rapid in style as the Introduction, but the pace occasionally runs into "scorching," of which the curious note D on BibRACTE (which suggests the metaphor) is an example. But though confessing to some perplexity as regards the Commentary, we feel hearty admiration and gratitude for the excellent Introduction.

Ars Tragica Sophoclea cum Shaksperiana Comparata. By LIONEL HORTON-SMITH, B.A. Macmillan, 1896.

THIS Essay on the Tragic Art of Sophocles and Shakspeare won the Members' Prize for the Latin Essay in 1894, and well deserves the more permanent form which it has now assumed as a published monograph. The list of works consulted shows what a wealth of learning has been brought to bear upon the theme, and the prefixed synopsis gives a general view of the topics and their treatment. The style of the Latin is, of course, modelled on the philosophical treatises of Cicero, and is, as might be expected in a Cambridge prize essay, both accurate and brilliant. We should have welcomed Latin metrical versions of the passages quoted from Shakspeare, which Mr. Horton-Smith gives us in the English words. The task would, we judge, have been easy to him; the more because he often furnishes us in a note with interesting parallels from the Latin classics to celebrated passages from Shakspeare. For instance, "all the world's a stage" has its exact counterpart in a passage of Petronius with which it is not probable that Shakspeare was acquainted: "*Totus fere mundus mimus videtur implere. . . Dum constet inter nos quod fere totus mundus exerceat histrionem.*" The obvious contrast presented by the *form* of the Sophoclean and Shakspearean drama is lightly dismissed.

¹ Perhaps we should transpose *longas naves* and *onerarias* cp. 22. 3: yet in 25. 1 it would appear that fighting men were on board the ships of war.

The countrymen of Shakspeare may well congratulate themselves that Shakspeare did not trammel his mighty genius with the shackles of the unities. and the more because Milton, Landor, and Swinburne have given imitations of the form of the Greek drama such as not even Racine and Corneille have rivalled. "On the continent," writes Coleridge, "the works of Shakspeare are honoured in a double way—by the admiration of the Germans and the contempt of the French." Voltaire has had his say on the subject of the essay, and so has another French critic, J. L. Geoffroy writing from thirty to forty years later. The former allows to Shakspeare some high qualities—"Shakspeare que les Anglais prennent pour un Sophocle . . . avait un génie plein de force et de fécondité, de naturel et de sublime, sans la moindre étincelle de bon goût et sans la moindre connaissance des règles." M. Geoffroy waxeth very bold and saith, "*Hamlet* est une composition entièrement barbare, où l'on ne découvre aucune trace des idées et de la manière de Sophocle." Mr. Horton-Smith has shown how much the Greek and English genius had in common in spite of glaring discrepancies in form, matter, and *mise en scène*. These discrepancies he holds to have been exaggerated. For instance he finds a counterpart to the chorus of Greek tragedy in Shakspeare's fools and clowns, in his soliloquies, and sometimes in particular characters whose function is mainly critical, such as Enobarbus in *Antony and Cleopatra*, and Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*.

The essayist finds in the style of Sophocles, as in that of Shakspeare, three stages. In Sophocles we have (as Plutarch pointed out) first Aeschylean dignity and elevation, sometimes even bordering on inflation (τὸν Αἰσχύλου ὄγκον), then minute elaboration and polish (τὸ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τεχνον τῆς αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆς), then psychological analysis marked by harmony and repose (εἶδος ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡθικώτατον καὶ βέλτιστον). In Shakspeare the very elaborate, even farfetched polish of *Romeo and Juliet* marks the first stage; the dignity and supreme strength of *Julius Caesar* the second; while "the close-packed expression, the impatient activity of intellect and daring confidence in the resources of language," which Spedding ascribes to the later plays, characterise the third stage, and find their best illustration in the *Tempest*.

The more minute coincidences between the tragic art of Sophocles and Shakspeare derive their interest from the fact that there is no reason to believe that the English poet could have borrowed directly from the Greek, or been directly influenced by him. It was some common quality existing in the genius of the two great poets which made Sophocles heighten the tragedy of Antigone's fate by the vulgarism of the watchman and which prefixed the porter's ribaldries to the consummation of the tragedy in *Macbeth*. "The sudden introduction of a jest amid

the weird terrors of the scene startles us," writes Mr. Bather, a brilliant critic quoted by the essayist, "it is a gleam of ghastly sunshine that suddenly strikes across a stormy landscape." The extreme tragical effectiveness of this violent contrast does not seem to have struck any dramatists except Sophocles and Shakspeare. In the same way, by a sort of pre-established harmony, the two great dramatists exhibit a striking and almost unique sense of the harmony of external nature with the action of the drama; both make daring anachronisms as when Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Hector a quotation from Aristotle, and Oedipus asks a native of Colonus whether the government was a democracy, a thing undreamed of in the time of Oedipus; both fall into strange errors in geography; and, finally, both assume the right of handling the same character quite differently in different plays, the Falstaff of *Henry IV.* not presenting a greater dissimilarity to the Falstaff of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, than does the Creon of the *Antigone* to the Creon of the *Oedipus Rex* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*.

In dwelling on the tendency to play upon words, found in both poets, but far more marked in the modern, we think that in one case Mr. Horton-Smith has ascribed to Shakspeare a pun when no pun was intended. We do not think Lady Macbeth had any paronomasia in her mind when she said

"If he do bleed,
I'll *gild* the faces of the grooms withal;
For it must seem their *guilt*."

If we may proceed to a few other points on which we dissent (perhaps wrongly) from the essayist, we would observe that we fear the internal and external evidence for the authorship of Titus Andronicus is far too great to allow us to assent (would that we could!) to his statement that *tragoediam Shaksperianam non esse satis constat*. We have not the means of referring to *Notes and Queries*, but did any one except the founders of the *Times* ever write

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis?

Is there really any verse nearer to it than the much finer and subtler verse of Borbonius,

Omnia mutantur, sed nos mutamur in illis?

In such a very elegant composition as the one before us we would avoid *omnino* in an affirmative sentence (pp. 64, 70), *idonee* (p. 73), and *Ricardus Alter* (p. 76)—would it not rather be *Secundus*?

We cannot better do justice to Mr. Horton-Smith than by quoting as an example of his acute criticism and admirable Latinity a passage (pp. 69, 70) in which he deals with Shakspeare's use of rhyming verses and songs: it is not the peroration, and will therefore serve better as a sample of the general style of the essay:—

"Nec minorem in versus operam impendit Shaksperius, quibus subito abruptis, modo numeroque mutatis, accedente nescioqua

asperitate, persaepe effecit ut hesitationem quandam actoris, sententiarum immutationem, mentis denique perturbationem plane ac perspicue significarit. Praeterea est ubi versus ita expolivit ut syllabis extremis inter se non sine elegantia quadam consonent; sed ne hoc quidem temere, quippe qui colloquium vel actoris unius orationem terminatione tali expletam multo aptius saepissime concluderit. Praesertim in Romeone et Iulieta discrimine subtilissimo hoc artificium adhibuit; primis enim amoris deliciis allecti, versibus sic conclusis colloquuntur Romeo et Iulieta, sed ad finem tragoediae, Iulieta iam in busto composita, tum demum, speciosam deliciarum inanium pulcritudinem omnino aspernatus, sermone non nisi serio ac severo utitur Romeo; Paris contra, non dolore tanto excruciat, flosculos dum undique spargit, versus simul elegantissime inter se consonantes blandius profundit. Quam longe Paridi amore antecelleret Romeo, nonne dilucide sic demonstravit Shaksperius? Postremo non possumus quin mentionem faciamus de carminibus, quibus interpositis fabulae mirum quantum suavitatis adiecit Shaksperius. Carmen illud moriturae Desdemonae, tam dulce idem et tam triste, cui unquam de mente excidere possit?"

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1. *Two Papers on the Oscan Word "Anasaket."* By L. HORTON-SMITH, M.A. vi. + 74 pp. (Nutt, 1897).
 2. *The Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havel.* With an Appendix on Lat. *hau haud haut*, and Gk. οὐ "not." By L. HORTON-SMITH, M.A. vii. + 108 pp. (Cambridge · Macmillan and Bowes, 1899).
 3. *The Origin of Latin Haud and Greek οὐ, and the Extension of the Originally Unextended Form.* By L. HORTON-SMITH, M.A. 27 pp. (Baltimore, 1897).

1. THE first of these papers appeared in the *Classical Review* for May, 1894, and is here reprinted with certain additions and corrections. It deals with the last word of the well-known Bruttio-Oscan inscription, transliterated by Bréal as Σπεδῖς Μαρκεκίης Σαῖπυς ἀνασάκετ, and translated "Spedius Mamercius Saepinas consecravit." Prof. R. S. Conway, however, declared that the 4th letter should be transliterated *f*, and explained his *avafaker* as "*faker* in composition = Osc. **fefaced* (*fe facust*), Umbr. **faced* (*fakust*)." In the present paper Mr. Horton-Smith traverses both the transliteration and the explanation. For the former Prof. Conway had appealed to the Oscan coins assigned by Imhoof-Blumer to Vesperis (*Num. Zeit.* xviii. p. 206), as well as to

the inscription (No. 246) in Zvetaieff's *I. I. I. D.*, p. 76, where Prof. Conway transliterates Zvetaieff's Σεστες as *festes* = *Festus*; but Mr. Horton-Smith points out that according to von Planta the right reading there is *sesies*, and it is extremely improbable that this should be the very uncommon name Festies. Against Prof. Conway's explanation he brings the fact that we do not find *facio*, used in compounds, with the meaning of "sacrifice" or "dedicate." His own view is that we have here the Greek word ἀνέθηκε, borrowed by Oscan, like *kuiniks*: χοῖνιξ, and others. For σ = θ he compares Lac. τῷ σιῷ σύματος, etc., and especially Alcman's ἔσηκε, and maintains that the Laconians wrote θ—this by way of reply to the objection that the change was comparatively late on *inscriptions*. The difficult α = η may be due either to hyper-Dorism, or better, to a wrongly assumed connexion with Osc. σακορο, "sacrum" (cf. vulg. Lat. *sacrophagus*); while ignorance on the part of those who borrowed the word would account for the appearance of the augment as α.

In the 2nd paper Mr. Horton-Smith supports these views at greater length, replying to Prof. Conway's strictures (*C. R.* viii., p. 348), and again attacking that scholar's *αναφακετ*. Prof. Conway objects (1) that a verb cannot be borrowed except under certain special (e.g. political) conditions; (2) that it cannot be transferred in one particular tense only; (3) that the symbol S is elsewhere used always with the value *f*; (4) that there cannot be two forms of Sigma employed in one and the same word or even inscription; (5) that Gk. θ could not have been represented in Oscan by S. Space will not permit us to reproduce, however briefly, Mr. Horton-Smith's replies. Suffice it to say that they constitute a most powerful body of argument, including a number of very interesting parallels from Latin, Coptic, English, Scotch, German, Spanish, and even trapper American, in reply to (1) and (2) above, along with a dozen equally interesting instances of "Volksetymologie" (among them our own Co. Dublin *Kill St. Ann*, which is the O. I. *Killmosanctan*, "the church of Bishop Sanctan"); a discussion of the supposed Vesperis coins, and of the true Oscan representation of *f*; and an explanation of the disputed Umbr. *klavlaf aanfehtaf* as "portions undressed" (*infestas*).

2. The object of this essay is to establish and extend the Law of Thurneysen and Havet. Mr. Horton-Smith proposes to prove that "just as Prim. Lat. *dv-* (preserving Idg. *δ*) became *dv-*, so too . . . Pr. Lat. *dv-* (preserving Idg. *δ*) became *av-*, and in the same way also the Pr. Lat. diphthong *ou-* (preserving Idg. *δ*) became the diphthong *au* on its way to the later *ū*:*ō*." For the first change all the alleged examples and exceptions are quoted and examined at length with very full and satisfactory references to leading authorities. The difficult word *kaila* (Zvet. *I. I. I. D.* 142) is explained as having arisen by epenthesis from **kalia*, i.e. Gk. *καλία*.

Favissae and *fovea* are referred to the Pr. Idg. root $\bar{g}he\bar{u}$ - seen in Gk. $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$; the doubtful *avis* produces a long discussion resulting in the establishment of two separate Idg. words for "bird," $*\bar{d}ui-s$, and $*\bar{d}ui-s$; the difficulties presented by *ovis*, *iuvencus*, and *bos* are satisfactorily proved to be due to the influence of the other Italic dialects. The short list of forms on p. 16f. might be increased by the addition of Umbr. *bum*, "bovem." Mr. Horton-Smith's extension of the law is strongly supported by Mr. Lindsay's very ingenious suggestion that it accounts for the disappearance of *o*-verbs from Latin: the perf. $\bar{o}v\bar{i}$ became $-\bar{a}v\bar{i}$, and thence the whole verb went over to the \bar{a} - conjugation. *Octāvus* is well treated (from Idg. $*\bar{o}k\bar{t}\bar{o}u-o-s$, which also yielded Gk. $\bar{o}\gamma\delta o\bar{o}s$ through $*\bar{o}k\bar{t}\bar{o}wFo-s$, $*\bar{o}k\bar{t}\bar{o}w\bar{o}s$ $*\bar{o}k\bar{t}\bar{o}o\bar{s}$); but we are surprised that *octuaginta* presented the slightest difficulty. For Lat. *Faunus* we get two new and ingenious explanations, our author deriving it from earlier Lat. $*Founos$ from Idg. $*\bar{g}hou-no-s$, from either of the two Idg. roots (1) $\bar{g}he\bar{u}$, "to pour"; (2) $\bar{g}he\bar{u}$, "to invoke"; so that *Faunus* means either "a being honoured with offerings," or "he who is invoked."

Lat. $*au$ Gk. $\bar{o}\bar{u}$ are maintained to be entirely different from Skr. $\acute{a}va$, and are referred to a common ground-form, viz. Idg. tautosyll. $*\bar{o}u$, from the Idg. root eu , "to fail, be wanting." The much-disputed h of *haud* is put on all-fours with that of *haurio*: i.e. it is merely a "vorgeschoben [better vorgeschobenes] h ," which, when once prefixed, was always retained.

The book is closed by an excellent index, giving a list of about 800 words treated in the preceding pages—a number which will show better than anything we can say how exhaustively Mr. Horton-Smith has dealt with his subject.

3. In this Paper the author accepts Pott's explanation of the $-\chi\acute{\iota}$ of $\bar{o}\bar{u}\chi\acute{\iota}$ as identical with Skr. $\bar{h}i$, "for," a meaning developed from Idg. $*\bar{g}hi$, "this." He also holds that the quite distinct $-\kappa\acute{\iota}$ of $\bar{o}\bar{u}\kappa\acute{\iota}$ is the neuter sg. of the demonstrative pronominal stem $*\bar{k}i-$, "this"; but argues against the received theories of $\bar{o}\bar{u}\chi$, $\bar{o}\bar{u}\kappa$. His own view is that $\bar{o}\bar{u}\chi\acute{\iota}$ and $\bar{o}\bar{u}\kappa\acute{\iota}$ both had originally the same meaning, and so were used indiscriminately; this being so, $\bar{o}\bar{u}\chi$ and $\bar{o}\bar{u}\kappa$ simply arose through the natural laws governing elision.

Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem.

By the Rev. Sir J. C. HAWKINS, Bart. Clarendon Press, 1899.

THOSE who try to find their way through the labyrinth of the Synoptic Problem will be grateful to Sir J. C. Hawkins for the help which this volume is certain to give them. Its main contents are a series of skilfully devised tables, which, so far as we have been able to test them, appear to be thoroughly accurate. The work is divided into three parts, in the first of which are placed lists of characteristic words and phrases of each of the first two Gospels. In Matthew and Luke a phrase is regarded as characteristic which occurs at least four times in one of these books, and not more than half as often in the other two Synoptic Gospels. In the case of the second Gospel a modification is necessary, since it is considerably shorter than the others. Hence a phrase is deemed characteristic of Mark if it is found in it three times, and not oftener in Matthew and Luke combined than in Mark. The definition is not absolutely satisfactory. A phrase, for example, which appears three times in Matthew and not once in Mark or Luke, has as good a claim to be called characteristic as one which occurs four times in Matthew, and once each in the other two, or as one which is thrice met with in Mark and as often in Luke. But though not perfect it is sufficiently good for practical purposes, and has the merit of excluding, as far as possible, the subjective element. The second part of the book deals with phenomena which may throw light on the question of the sources of the Gospels. There are, in the first place, resemblances between all three, or between the pairs Matthew Mark, Matthew Luke, Mark Luke, which seem to suggest documentary sources. And there are, on the other hand, phenomena which, we are told, "point at least as distinctly to the influences of oral transmission." These are of several kinds, and long lists of them are drawn up under different heads. Finally, a table is set out of "doublets," or "repetitions of the same or closely similar sentences in the same Gospel." An elaborate consideration of the doublets leads to the inference that Matthew and Luke used two, or perhaps three, different sources, the first being closely similar to Mark, the second probably the Logia referred to by Papias, while the third is a special source used by St. Luke alone. Part III., which is headed "Further Statistics and Observations bearing on the Origin and Composition of the Gospels," contains much that is of importance. The theory of an Ur-Marcus is discussed and rejected; the results of a comparison between the language of Luke and Acts are tabulated, and the conclusions are reached, after an exhaustive examination of the facts, that Luke and Acts in their present form are the work of a single editor, though the dates of their composition were separated by a

considerable interval, and that the "We-sections" exhibit to an extent which is surprising, considering their brevity, the characteristics both of the Gospel and of the remainder of Acts; while interesting observations are made as to the method and aim of the writer of Matthew.

It is impossible in a brief notice to give more than a very imperfect sketch of the contents of a book which is so full of suggestive material. It is even more impossible to examine exhaustively its argument. But we gather that Sir John Hawkins regards the numerous lists which he has compiled with such laborious care as the most important part of his work. It may, therefore, not be amiss if we say that the tables appear to us in some cases to be of more value than the inferences which their compiler has drawn from them. We give one or two examples in support of this opinion. In the lists of characteristic phrases several have been enclosed in brackets, as an indication that "they are mainly or entirely accounted for by the subject-matter, and therefore give little or no indication of the author's style"; or, in other words, because they are not really "characteristic," though satisfying the formal definition of that word. These phrases ought of course to be entered in the lists. But we can see no reason why they should be taken account of in giving numerical summaries of results. And, if they are omitted, the results will in some cases be considerably modified. Thus, for instance, we are told (p. 24) that the three Gospels differ as to the distribution of the characteristic phrases. "In Matthew they are scattered more than twice as thickly over the 'peculiar' portions as they are over the 'common' portions; in Mark they are rather more thickly scattered over the small peculiar portions than they are over the large common portions; in Luke they are scattered more than half as thickly again, but less than twice as thickly, over the peculiar portions as they are over the common portions." The statement about Luke, indeed, seems to be a mistaken inference from the table as it now stands. But let us omit the phrases in brackets, and make the entire calculation afresh. In Matthew there now remain 693 occurrences of characteristic words or phrases, of which 313 are in the peculiar portions, while these peculiar portions include 337 of the 1068 verses of the Gospel. Hence we get the proportion—

$$\frac{731 \times 313}{337 \times 380}, \text{ or } 1.79. \text{ Similarly for Mark we have } \frac{611 \times 29}{50 \times 277}, \text{ or } 1.28;$$

$$\text{and for Luke } \frac{650 \times 708}{499 \times 682}, \text{ or } 1.35.$$

In the second part Sir John Hawkins discusses the difficult subject of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels. And here again we must express some doubt as to the soundness of the theories

which are based upon his tables. In the first section a long list is given of the identities in language between the different narrators. The obvious inference from these resemblances is that the Synop-
 tists used written documents, some parts of which they copied at full length, though not always with absolute accuracy. It is true that these phenomena may possibly be due, not to written accounts of the life and words of Christ, but to a singularly correct oral tradition. In modern times such a hypothesis would indeed be inadmissible; but the circumstances of the first century were so different from those of the nineteenth, that we may make almost any supposition we like as to the retentiveness of the memories of the early Christian teachers. But if an oral tradition were so wonderfully accurate as it must have been to produce the remarkable identities of language which actually exist in these independent narratives, how are we to account for the differences enumerated in the two following sections? Can we believe that a memory which enabled its possessor to reproduce in their proper order long passages of narrative or of discourse, on other occasions played him so completely false that he misplaces incidents, and attributes words to one speaker which were really uttered by another? It seems to us that if the differences between the Evangelists are to be explained by a theory of oral transmission, nothing else than a documentary theory can account for their resemblances. It does not follow, on the other hand, if the use of documents be held to account for resemblances, that in the case of passages where variations appear the documentary theory must be dismissed in favour of oral transmission. And we cannot but think that many of the phenomena, which, in Sections II. and III. of Part II., Sir John Hawkins regards as pointing to oral tradition, may just as readily be explained on the documentary hypothesis, if we admit the possibility that in some instances the writers had independent knowledge of the events which they describe. Thus, for example, Mark ix. 12, 13 is compared with Matt. xvii. 12 (p. 62) for the purpose of pointing out that the sufferings of the Son of Man and of "Elijah" are mentioned in different order in these two accounts of a discourse of our Lord. But there is no real transposition: Mark ix. 12 has been omitted by Matthew, whose habit of abbreviating has been often noticed, while Mark omits Matt. xvii. 12 *b*—and very reasonably, since it is practically covered by what he reports in his twelfth verse. The facts are very easily accounted for as independent abbreviations of a source used by both writers, which may just as well have been written as not. And so again we can find no evidence of oral transmission in the list (p. 56) headed "Attribution of the same, or very similar, words to different speakers." Of this eight instances are given. Space will not allow us to do more than glance at two of them. The first is the ascription of the words ἀφετε ἰδωμεν κτλ, in Mark xv. 36, to the man who brings the

vinegar, and in Matt. xxvii. 49 to "the rest." But let us put the passages side by side.

Matthew.

καὶ εὐθέως δραμὼν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ
λαβὼν σπόγγον, πλήσας τε ὄξους,
καὶ περιθεὶς καλάμῳ ἐπότιζεν αὐ-
τόν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ εἶπαν (v.l. ἔλεγον)
'Ἄφες, κτλ.

Mark.

δραμὼν δὲ τις, γεμίσας σπόγγον
ὄξους περιθεὶς καλάμῳ ἐπότιζεν
αὐτόν, λέγων Ἄφετε, κτλ.

The difference between these narratives is very inadequately expressed by the statement that the saying which they embody is transferred from one to another speaker. Verbally the resemblance between them is not great, and as to facts they are in fundamental contrast. Matthew represents the man who gave the vinegar to Christ as touched with pity for the Lord, and restrained by the others: according to Mark he is a scoffer. The two accounts appear to us just such as might have ultimately come from two independent eye-witnesses of the incident. But whether the stories were transmitted to the Evangelists orally or in writing we seem to have no material on which to base an opinion. Sir John Hawkins, again, contrasts Matt. viii. 8, in which the centurion says, "I am a man under authority," with Luke vii. 6, in which his messengers say it for him. But this is not merely to take a speech out of the mouth of one man and to put it into the mouth of another, as a faulty oral report might do. The messengers do not appear in Matthew's narrative, and therefore if the words were to be introduced at all they could be given to no one but the centurion himself. The difference between the two accounts is not the transference of certain words, but the record of a whole series of incidents in Luke which is not alluded to in Matthew. How are we to account for the variation? Either by supposing that Matthew, according to his wont, shortened the narrative by omitting those parts of it which were not essential to its main incident, or by supposing that Luke added certain details which were unknown to Matthew. Why, in either case, the two writers may not have had their information from documents one does not understand.

These remarks may suffice to show that Sir John Hawkins' conclusions must be scrutinized by the student with considerable care. But, in saying this, we do not at all wish to convey that he has not made a valuable contribution to the study of the New Testament. Those who have had experience of the labour involved in constructing accurate tables, and who are aware of their necessity for any thorough investigation of the Synoptic problem, will be the first to acknowledge that by this work he has given them much cause for gratitude.

We have noticed one or two misprints. Page 3, line 16 from foot, for 15 read 16; p. 13, l. 9, for 7 read 8 (and so p. 24, note 2); p. 23, l. 4, for "characteristic words," read "occurrences of characteristic words." The editions of works referred to should have been specified. Thus on p. 107 a passage in Salmon's *Introduction* is alluded to, which seems to occur in the first edition only.

Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. Fasciculi primi pars prior. Edidit C. H. TURNER (Clarendon Press, 1899).

MR. TURNER of Magdalen College, Oxford, has undertaken the enormous task of editing from the mss. the Latin versions of the Greek Councils from Ancyra and Nicaea to Chalcedon. These versions are of great importance inasmuch as (with the Syriac) they are the most ancient extant witnesses to the text of the Greek originals; and, moreover, they form, with the Papal decretals, the common nucleus of nearly all primitive collections of the Canon Law of the Western Church. Many of these versions were published separately in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Justel, Quesnel, the Ballerinis, Mansi, and others; and in 1871 Professor Maassen published a critical summary of all the available material. But Mr. Turner's is the first attempt to collect and classify all known Latin versions, and the task is one which not only demands wide knowledge and a great deal of critical sagacity, but will require the industrious devotion of many years, if it is to be brought to a successful issue. The first instalment of the work now lies before us, and we cordially congratulate Mr. Turner upon it. It is issued as a handsome quarto, and is printed in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the Clarendon Press.

This first fasciculus contains (1) the so-called "Canons of the Apostles" in their Latin dress, and (2) the lists (based on twenty-five mss.) of the signatures of the bishops at the Council of Nicaea, arranged in five parallel columns, according to five forms of text.

The history of the "Canons of the Apostles" is somewhat obscure. It appears that at the beginning of the sixth century a learned Roman monk, called Dionysius Exiguus, made a great collection of Greek Canons, which he translated into Latin. At the head of the collection he placed fifty canons, with the title "Incipiunt Regulae Ecclesiasticae sanctorum apostolorum, prolatae per Clementem Ecclesiae Romanae Pontificem." Whether the Canons were known or not in Greek at Rome, the translation must have served to introduce them to a large number of new readers; and we find, accordingly, that a second edition of the version of Dionysius was called for. This second form of the version was printed in 1661 by Christopher Justel in his *Bibliotheca Iuris*

canonici veteris, and is now reproduced in the Oxford edition with a copious *apparatus criticus*. The most considerable contribution that Mr. Turner has made towards the study of this version is the discovery at Rome of the folios of a seventh century MS. (the rest of which is at Verona) which contain it. An admirably acute dissertation on this important MS. = Verona lx (58) was published by Mr. Turner in the *Guardian* for December 11, 1895.

But the original version of Dionysius has never before been published, and Mr. Turner now gives it to us from thirteen MSS. This is an addition to knowledge of real value, and the MSS. have seemingly been collated with the most scrupulous accuracy.

The importance of an accurate collation may be judged from one example. A question that naturally arises in connexion with these so-called "Canons of the Apostles" is this: Do they claim for themselves to be of apostolic origin? In Can. xxviii. the words *a me Petro* occur, but it was contended by Beveridge and others that the pronoun *me* was a late interpolation, inserted to promote the fiction of apostolic authority. It now appears, however, that not only is the pronoun found in the Greek MSS. (ἐμὸν Πέτρον), but that it exists also in the earliest and best MSS. of both Latin versions. Hence we learn that the fiction is at any rate as old as the time of Dionysius, *i.e.* as old as the year 500 A.D. The omission of the pronoun *me* in the later MSS. was due to the desire of the Latin scribes to depreciate the value of a collection of canons not recognized as authoritative by the Western Church.

The second part of the fasciculus in our hands contains, as we have said, a list of the signatures of the bishops at Nicaea, a list of considerable importance both for Church history and for ancient geography. In this latter connexion a good deal turns on points of orthography which have never before received the minute and anxious scrutiny that Mr. Turner has bestowed upon them. The traditional number of bishops who attended the famous Council of Nicaea is 318, a number which early writers loved to trace back to the number of Abraham's servants in Gen. xiv. 14. But, as is well known, the number is variously given by various authorities, and in the ancient lists contained in the documents before us, only 218 names appear.

We have said enough to indicate the importance and the magnitude of this great literary undertaking, and we shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the second part which is to contain, *inter alia*, the Latin versions, some ten or twelve in number, of the Creed and Canons of the Nicene Council.

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